

MODERN TRENDS IN EDUCATION

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW
EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE
HELD IN NEW ZEALAND IN JULY

1937

EDITED BY

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WITH A FOREWORD BY
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AND AN INTRODUCTION BY
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FOREWORD

THE visit of so many eminent educationists to New Zealand in July last, which was arranged by the New Education Fellowship, was not merely the event of the year as far as education in the Dominion was concerned; it was the event of many years. It was an educational and intellectual enterprise which deserved, and obtained, the greatest measure of appreciation and support from all intelligently interested in that dissemination of knowledge about life in its manifold expressions which is the work of education.

The visit of the representatives of the Fellowship was of particular interest to those who are actively engaged in shaping the future of education in this country, who are anxious to incorporate the best, and only the best, in our system—and who, in the interests of the children, and older students as well, are ready and eager to learn from those whose wide experience and deep study have endowed them with authority to teach. Those responsible for the adventure (for it was in a very real sense a cultural adventure for thousands of us) are entitled to our sincere congratulations and thanks. The general scheme, organisation and conduct of the tour was a triumph of sustained co-operation between the New Education Fellowship in Great Britain, our fellow educational reformers in Australia, the energetic national and local committees and organisers, practically the whole of the teachers, the members of administrative bodies, and educationists generally.

The Conference resulted in an educational revival the beneficial effects of which have already been felt. It has aroused and revivified interest in education in all parts of the country. Some of us hope, and have good grounds for believing, that it marked the commencement of an educational renaissance from which much will come.

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The lecturers, because of their standing, their knowledge, their experience, and their modesty (their most conspicuous characteristic), captivated while they instructed. They not only won the interest, attention and enthusiasm of the large audiences that gathered to listen to them; they won their hearts. It is no exaggeration to say that for most of us who attended the lectures every minute was enjoyable, precious and profitable.

One of the most gratifying features of the Conference in all centres was the large attendance of teachers. It was particularly pleasing to me, as Minister of Education, to learn that thousands of teachers had taken full advantage of the opportunity of attending that had been given them. Their keen interest, their enjoyment, their deep and bright enthusiasm, and the intelligent appreciation of educational principles that they showed, are the greatest hope for the future of education in New Zealand.

The many thousands who attended the lectures shared fully my own appreciation and gratitude. In their name and in that of the Government of New Zealand, I take this opportunity, seven months after the event, of thanking once again the eminent educationists from Great Britain, South Africa, Canada, the United States, Finland and Austria, who came bearing great and precious gifts, and who bestowed them so freely and generously, for the great and lasting benefits they have conferred on the education system, and, consequently, on the parents, teachers, students, children and people of New Zealand.

I am pleased that the lectures delivered during that memorable fortnight are to be published in permanent form. The collection will be a continual source of pleasure, instruction and inspiration, and is assured of an appreciative welcome and a large circulation.

P. FRASER

MINISTER OF EDUCATION

April, 1938

INTRODUCTION

AS Australia had been selected as the country in which the 1937 N.E.F. Conference was to be held, the Australian Council for Educational Research courteously invited New Zealanders to participate in the benefits of the Conference by enrolling as members, and by attending the meetings in one or more of the Australian centres. It was felt, however, that it would be more satisfactory and effective if some of the educational experts going to Australia could stop over for a short time in New Zealand and address meetings in the main centres. The Australian Council for Educational Research and the London Headquarters of the N.E.F. gave this suggestion their generous support and, after much inquiry and consultation, it was found possible for a strong delegation to visit New Zealand. In view of the limited time at the disposal of our visitors and the distribution of our population, it was decided to divide the delegation into two sections, one taking the North Island and the other the South Island for their respective spheres of action. Immediately on arrival at Auckland, the group for the South Island went by motor, via Rotorua and Napier, to Wellington and thence to Christchurch, held its conference there, and then proceeded to Dunedin. The other group conducted the meetings in Auckland and then went to Wellington by the same route. It was unfortunate that our visitors were not able to see more of the Dominion, but the limited time at their disposal and the winter season prevented wider surveys of

the countryside. All the delegates re-assembled in Wellington and, after conferring with the Minister of Education, his departmental officers, and other educationists, returned to Auckland by train to continue their passage to Australia.

The general organisation of the Conference was in the hands of a representative National Committee with three honorary secretaries, Dr. C. E. Beeby and Messrs. G. R. Ashbridge and F. R. J. Davies, and the specific direction of the Conference in each centre was controlled by a local committee. Financial backing had been provided by guarantees given by the Government, the University of New Zealand, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, the New Zealand Educational Institute, the Secondary Schools Association, the Technical School Teachers' Association and the Registered Private Schools Association, and through the good offices of the Minister of Education, the Government made itself responsible for the transport of the delegates within New Zealand. Fortunately the financial success of the Conference was such that it was unnecessary to call on any of the guarantors.

The outstanding character of the organisation and conduct of the Conference was the co-operative spirit displayed by all those connected with education—from the Minister of Education, the Hon. P. Fraser, to the most recently appointed probationary teacher. Never before in the history of the Dominion had audiences of like numbers and enthusiasm assembled to listen to discussions on educational topics. A great deal of the credit for the success of the Conference must be given to the enlightened policy of the Minister of Education. He not only arranged that the primary schools should be closed during the period of the Conference, but also gave an inspiring example to the teaching profession by regularly attending the Conference meetings, even though, in addition to the duties of his portfolio, he was carrying the heavy responsibilities of

Acting Prime Minister. The teachers responded wholeheartedly, as the enrolments in the different centres clearly show:

Auckland -	1,787
Wellington -	1,598
Canterbury -	1,400
Otago - -	<u>1,098</u>
	<u>5,883</u>

The enthusiasm caught parents and the general public to such an extent that the largest halls available were not always big enough to accommodate those who wished to attend. In the case of some of the more popular subjects and speakers, hundreds were turned away from halls that had seating capacity of over three thousand. Through the efficient broadcasting system thousands in remote districts were able to listen in to those lectures that were put on the air. The Press of the Dominion gave the Conference great prominence, not only in the full and accurate reports of the meetings, but in the many articles and paragraphs by which, before the Conference actually began, they made the public familiar with the visiting delegates and their work.

Too much credit cannot be given to the lecturers themselves. They accepted willingly the very heavy programme with which they were faced, delighted and held their audiences by their earnestness, sincerity, humour and common sense, and within and without the lecture halls were ever ready to answer questions and to give advice. New Zealand is heavily indebted to them.

As a result of the Conference, a new impetus has been given to education in this Dominion at a very critical stage in its history, for the Minister of Education had announced that he proposed during this Parliament to place a new Education Act on the Statute book. We are all anxiously

awaiting the new measure to see how much its spirit has been influenced by the recent conferences and discussions.

N.E.F. groups are being formed in all the centres and it is hoped that these will become the growing points of new educational endeavour. Some of the balance of funds is being used to establish these groups and to provide them with small libraries suitable for their needs and for those of parents' associations. It has been possible, also, to make an additional grant to the N.E.F. Headquarters in London through the work and influence of which these regular conferences are made possible.

On behalf of the National Committee I express very sincere thanks to the lecturers, organisers and members who contributed to the outstanding success of the Conference. Special mention must be made of the three honorary secretaries of the National Committee: Dr. C. E. Beeby, Mr. G. R. Ashbridge and Mr. F. R. J. Davies, and of the honorary editor of the proceedings of the Conference, Mr. A. E. Campbell. This volume is evidence of their faithful and successful work.

T. A. HUNTER
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

AN EDITORIAL NOTE

MOST of this book consists of synopses of addresses which were very kindly supplied by the visiting speakers themselves at the request of the National Committee; but newspaper reports, and reports obtained from the local committees, have been used to fill gaps in the record. Many questions on which the speakers might have been consulted have cropped up during the editing of the papers, but to have sent enquiries overseas and waited for replies would have greatly delayed publication. It is possible, therefore, that in spite of careful checking, errors of reporting have crept in here and there.

Although there were some important addresses which, unfortunately, were not reported, the book gives a fairly complete review of the proceedings of the Conference. Repetition and overlapping have been avoided as much as possible, papers on similar topics have been grouped together under chapters, and the chapters have been arranged in a more or less logical sequence. The aim has been to produce a report which would form some sort of co-ordinated whole. At the same time no attempt has been made to obscure the fact that differing, and, in some instances, sharply conflicting viewpoints were represented in the delegation.

I have to express my gratitude to all who have helped in the preparation of the report, and especially to Mr. C. L. Bailey, who assisted me throughout the editorial work, to Dr. C. E. Beeby, who read the material in type-script and made a number of very useful suggestions, and to Mr. H. C. McQueen, who lent a hand in several ways.

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THE SPEAKERS

THE SPEAKERS

DR. WILLIAM BOYD

Head of Department of Education, Glasgow University. Founder of first educational clinic in Great Britain, and one of the founders of the Scottish Council for Educational Research. Member of the Executive Board of the N.E.F. Author of *The History of Western Education; Measuring Devices in Composition, Spelling, and Arithmetic; America in School and College*, etc.

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Director of Education, Lancashire. Formerly Director of Education for Essex. Honorary Treasurer of the N.E.F.

DR. E. G. MALHERBE

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DR. HAROLD RUGG

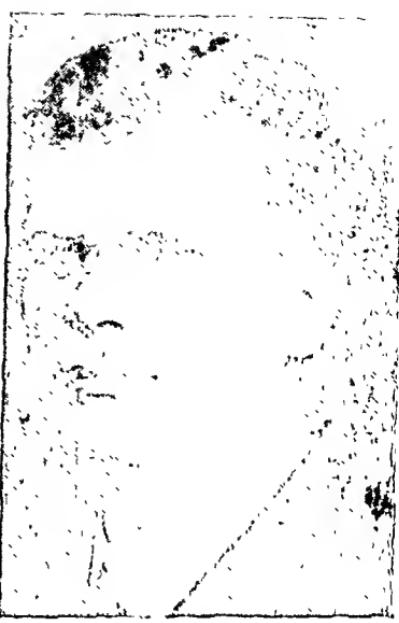
Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University. Organizing Director of the N.E.F. in the United States. Author of *Statistical Methods in Education*, *American Culture and Education*, *American Life and the School Curriculum*, etc., and part-author of *The Child-Centred School*.

REKTOR LAURIN ZILLIACUS

Headmaster of Experimental School, Helsingfors, Finland. Member of Executive Board and Chairman of the N.E.F. For seven years on staff of Bedales School, England. Graduate of Cornell University and of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



DR. WILLIAM BOYD



DR. E. DE S. BRUNNER



MR. E. SALTER DAVIES



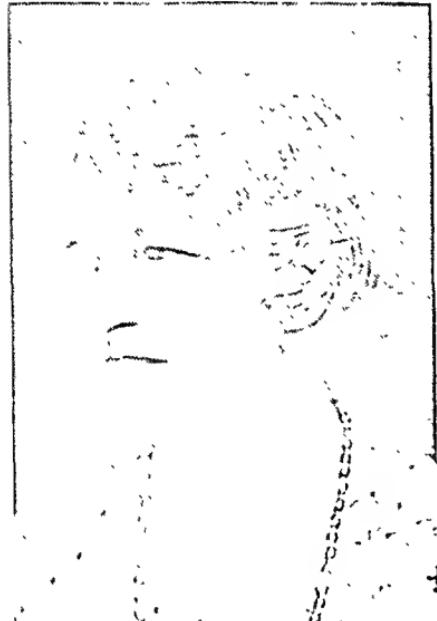
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MR. ARTHUR LISMER



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REKTOR LAURIN ZILLIACUS

MODERN TRENDS IN EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

EDUCATION IN THE MODERN WORLD

DR. I. L. KANDEL (U.S.A.): *School and Society*

THE problem of the relation of school and society is one of the oldest in the history of education and instead of becoming simpler, becomes increasingly complex as society itself grows more complex. So long as each family or each group or each church or each trade assumed the responsibility for the education of its members, education could be adapted to the immediate cultural needs—spiritual or secular—of each. But as families merged into tribes and tribes into groups and as societies became larger and more self-conscious entities, and as later they began to be organised as nations and nations developed central agencies of government, education began to be provided and controlled by the State. No matter how enlightened state action might be, it cannot resist the temptation to standardise whether in the interests of conformism or of efficiency or of both. The result is that an agency established to provide the means undertakes to prescribe the ends of education. The next consequence is that all distinctions between group culture, national culture and a state-dominated culture disappear. Hence, the essential problem of school and society becomes the problem of the relation of the individual to the society of which he is a member.

Education has always been a social process by which the individual becomes initiated into the culture of his group. In the broad sense that culture educates if the individual is to find his place in society. Within that culture, however, a group or society or the State selects certain aspects which it regards as more essential for its stability and perpetuation than others. Here is to be found the origin of the school as an institution created to perform in an organised and formal manner the initiation of the young into the culture of their group.

If the problem is approached from the historical or comparative point of view two distinct functions of schooling may be distinguished.

The first of these is the conservation or transmission of the culture or social heritage so that the younger generation may be equipped with the skills and knowledge and attitudes that will enable it to take its place in society and contribute to its stability and preservation. Society through the school seeks to reproduce the type, preserving its culture as a distinctive asset. The school emerges just as soon as the social organisation becomes too complex to provide education informally as, for example, by apprenticeship to public life in Greece and Rome, or later in industry, or by training on the farm or in the home.

As society progresses and as its culture becomes more complex the residual functions of society are gradually transferred to the school as the formal agency for education and the school is recognised as the institution through which these functions can be most systematically and economically carried out. Thus there emerged first training in the fundamentals, then the so-called enrichment subjects, practical and domestic arts, health education, moral and social training, physical education, and vocational training. The school thus became a social institution created to carry out certain social purposes—conservation and transmission.

The second function of education emerged later when

provision was made for the preparation of some individuals to become potential leaders of society, or as Professor Hocking of Harvard University puts it, for education for growth beyond the type. Some attempt was made here to go beyond mere transmission and to develop a critical attitude, freedom and intelligence to modify and adapt social conditions to new needs. Examples of the second function may be found in the educational system of Athens, in Renaissance education, and in secondary and higher education in most countries during the nineteenth century.

The fundamental issue in education today is the emphasis that shall be placed upon these two functions. The issue in a word is between new forms of despotism and tyranny and democracy, whether man shall be enslaved in the interests of reaction or whether he shall retain the hard-won gains in his upward struggle for emancipation and enlightenment.

The problem of school and society is again the problem of the relation between the State and the individual. It is not a new problem; it was already recognised by Plato and Aristotle when they laid down the axiom that the nature of the State determines the character of its education. Plato stated that 'if young men have been and are well brought up, then all things go swimmingly' in the State, and Aristotle made the same point when he wrote: 'Of all things which I have mentioned, that which contributes most to the permanence of constitutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government.' The same principles emerged later when the national State began to provide and to control education and were enunciated in two forms: 'As is the State, so is the school,' and 'Whoever controls the child, controls the future.' These were the principles upon which Frederick the Great established the educational system of Prussia and Napoleon that of France; in both cases the State claimed the paramount right to mould the minds of its subjects to a particular pattern. It was the fear that state action in education would produce such a result that for so

long stood in the way of interference by the State in England, and when Washington and his contemporaries urged upon the American people the necessity of providing education they stressed the fact that the permanence of democratic government depends upon the freedom and enlightenment of its citizens.

The essential difference between the educational systems of the world is to be found in this conflict between moulding youth to a pattern and developing free intelligence. On the one side are dictatorships or totalitarian states; on the other are those states which have retained their faith in the ideals of democracy. In the one group the individual is sacrificed to the State which stands above all individuals, in the other the State is still considered to rest upon the expressed will of the individuals who make it up. In one group are to be found Russia, Germany, Italy, the Balkan States, Turkey and Japan; in the other the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Belgium, France, Great Britain and the British Dominions, and the United States.

The totalitarian states have by far the simpler task in education, for everything is determined by and referred to the accepted ideology to which all individuals must conform either through coercion or a type of education which is indistinguishable from propaganda. The totalitarian State 'is the national condition in which every human being thinks and acts in a way co-ordinated with the thoughts and acts of every other human being.' In the words of the German Minister for Propaganda 'anyone may grumble or criticise the government if he is not afraid to go to a concentration camp,' and according to Mussolini 'everything must be for the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State.' With a philosophy as clear-cut and definite as this, the task of education is simple, for as Fichte said, 'Truth in reality is what you wish to be true; false is what you wish to be false,' so that 'discussion affecting the existence of the Party or the Nation must cease altogether.' So André Gide in his

Return from the U.S.S.R. reports that he found everywhere credulity, submissiveness, docility and conformism.

What Gide writes of Soviet Russia applies to any other totalitarian state: 'In the U.S.S.R. everybody knows beforehand, once and for all, that on any and every subject there can be only one opinion. . . . Every morning *Pravda* teaches them just what they should know and think and believe. And he who strays from the path had better look out! . . . If the mind is obliged to obey a word of command, it can at any rate feel that it is not free. But if it has been so manipulated beforehand that it obeys even without waiting for the word of command, it loses even the consciousness of its enslavement.' It is not Japan alone that has established a Bureau of Thought Supervision to 'drive home to the minds of students the true import of the Japanese spirit, while at the same time giving them fair and sound knowledge.'

Here we find a return to the earliest and most primitive form of education; the school exists merely for the conservation and perpetuation of the existing form of society. Culture in all of its aspects—religious as well as secular, intellectual as well as aesthetic—is under the control of the State which sets up the standards and prohibits any manifestation of the free spirit. The right of the State is supreme and all-pervasive and even academic freedom in the university—the one small corner preserved in the authoritarian State for the cult of intelligence—is now described as absolute nonsense and is banned. School and society are one and there is no break in gauge between them.

The democratic State by contrast is founded upon the rights of the individual to freedom of thought and freedom of expression and freedom to live his own life in accordance with his own judgment so long as he does not trespass upon the enjoyment of similar rights by others. The totalitarian State places the emphasis upon duty and unquestioning obedience, the democratic State rests upon the rights of the

individual, though too frequently without an adequate emphasis upon his responsibilities and obligations. The essential method of education in a totalitarian state is that of indoctrination; in a democratic state there is often through fear of indoctrination a failure to impart an understanding of the ideals upon which the common will must be founded. To use the earlier definition of the functions of education: while the totalitarian State stresses conservation and transmission for the reproduction of the type, the democratic State is in danger of neglecting the transmission of the ideas and ideals that make for social unity in favour of promoting growth beyond the type.

This weakness of democracies has not been ignored by the apologists for totalitarianism and every justification of its ideology starts with an attack upon the democratic cult of individualism. The charges brought against the liberal ideal are that it fails to inculcate a consciousness of social solidarity and of the destiny of the State; that the emphasis is more upon the rights than upon the duties of individuals; that the State exists merely as an agency to carry out the will of its citizens, and that this will is determined by their selfish interests; that government by discussion, by votes, by majorities, is a delusion which merely promotes the interests of those for the time being in power; that there is no guidance of national destiny and existence by those who know what is best for the State and at the same time for the individual. The apologists nowhere make any reference to the result of the ideology which they defend, which in Germany is *Verschwiegenheit* which Fichte had already anticipated when he wrote about the despot: 'He puts the rope around the neck of humanity and says, "Be quiet! It's all for your good."' And so according to a decalogue for fascist youth 'Mussolini is always right,' and Japanese students must refrain 'from harbouring dangerous thoughts.'

The totalitarian concepts of the relation of school and society and the charges brought against the liberal ideal

constitute a challenge to democracies whose task must be to develop the moral equivalent of the totalitarian ideologies and to cultivate in their youth as strong a faith in free institutions—what Lord Bryce called ‘a vehement passion for democracy’—as is found for its opposite in the totalitarian societies.

The educational task of totalitarian societies is simple because the goal to be attained is clear and definite. The essence of democratic institutions is that depending upon the wills of the individuals that make them up they must be adaptable to changing demands. Democracy is an adventure, it is always experimental; totalitarianism is clear-cut and logical and claims to know no compromises. But as Samuel Butler wrote in *The Way of All Flesh*: ‘Extremes alone are logical but they are inhuman. The mean alone is practicable and it is illogical’—an idea already expressed by Burke and repeated more recently by Earl Baldwin in a discussion of English institutions.

Democracies cannot escape the task of providing for the dissemination of those ideas and ideals upon which stability and survival must depend. They too must through education provide for the reproduction of the type. But if democracies are an adventure they must at the same time develop and cultivate enlightenment and understanding in their citizens. Nor can they shrink from indoctrination. But that indoctrination should be confined to transmitting faith in the ideals of freedom and a readiness to accept the methods of argument and discussion as the basis of social progress. The difference between a liberal and a dictator is, as Dr. Charles A. Beard has said, that the liberal does not claim to be omniscient.

It is quite clear, however, that the democratic ideal of enlightenment has not been carried into our educational practices. The emphasis on the whole has been upon conservation and transmission. Elementary education has in the main rested upon the transmission of literacy and the

secondary schools have perpetuated a tradition established for societies different from those of the present. In both, the justification of mental training has not yet wholly disappeared and both branches of education are dominated by the exigencies of examinations, which still stress, as the Roman writer said, 'things that are considered important for the school but have no meaning in the forum.' And at the secondary level 'matriculation' is the educational equivalent of 'that blessed word "Mesopotamia".'

To provide educational opportunities for all is an essential need in all democracies; to provide an education suited to differences of individual interests and abilities is equally a change demanded in the interests of justice and educational progress. But what is more urgent if the phrase 'school and society' is to have genuine meaning and validity is a fresh start in our thinking on curriculum and methods and a more realistic approach to the life which the changes of the last generation has produced. Indeed, the phrase 'school and society' might well be changed to 'school for society.' The school must not be of society but in society.

The strength of totalitarian states rests upon the fact that all education is directed to indoctrinating in its ideals and meanings. Democracies will fail unless they too develop faith and fervour in their ideals and at the same time an intelligent understanding of their problems. To reorganize the school system alone, however, is recognized to be inadequate unless the work of the schools is re-adapted to prepare citizens for the world in which they live and are to grow up. To have a vote in the election of a government unless that vote is guided by an understanding of the issues involved is of the essence of futility. To study physics and chemistry may be a good preparation for examinations but to study science in order to understand the world around us may have more lasting effects. To learn to speak a foreign language may be a valuable exercise, but to acquire an interest in reading a language in order to understand the mind of a people may

be more profitable for international understanding. And so one may go from subject to subject and contrast the results of methods directed to preparation for examinations or justified on outmoded psychological theories with the results that might be hoped for not by the adoption of any radical theory but by recalling and reversing Seneca's words: *Vitae non scholae discimus.*

The schoolmaster need not fear for standards; traditional reliance on traditional examinations has been so shaken recently that on educational and technical grounds substitutes must be found and those substitutes must centre not in the ability of pupils to disgorge examinable knowledge but in the growth of their personality. And personality can have meaning only in its social setting.

There has been a widespread movement recently for the introduction of social studies or social sciences in the schools. It is a wholesome movement but it may lead to a neglect of the fact that all studies must be social and part of the culture of a society. Germany has shown recently how such an apparently innocuous subject as simple arithmetic may be made to serve its special militaristic ends. There may even be some danger that the introduction of a special subject may defeat the attainment of similar ends through those already in a curriculum.

But before the curriculum is revised it is essential that the purpose of such a revision must be understood. There has recently been formed in England an Association for Education in Citizenship which provides an answer to the challenge of the totalitarian states. In its first pamphlet this Association states:

'The time seems ripe to form a national body as a meeting ground for those who are advocating increased opportunities for training for citizenship throughout our educational institutions. Under training for citizenship we include: training in the moral qualities which are necessary for the citizens of a democracy; powers of clear thinking in

every-day affairs; and the kind of knowledge of the modern world which is usually given by means of courses in modern history, geography, economics, citizenship, or politics.'

There may be some fear that the teaching of the social sciences will provide an opportunity for injecting some bias in the instruction. The fear may be dismissed for the pupil coming under the influence of a number of teachers during his school career will by the conflict of biases ultimately be compelled to reach his own conclusions—a not undesirable end in education.

It is not inappropriate by way of summary to quote from the statement of a former President of the Board of Education in a foreword to a volume published by the Association on *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools*.

'In the last few years,' he wrote, 'it has been clearly proved that democracy is by far the most difficult of all forms of government—so difficult that many nations have abandoned it in favour of more primitive forms. The decay of democracy abroad has led many people to the conclusion that if those democratic institutions which we in this country agree are essential for the full development of the individual are to be preserved, some systematic training in the duties of citizenship is necessary, and indeed such training has long been practised in one form or another. Men and women receive in schools, factories, workshop and university a vocational training designed to fit them to be useful members of a trade or profession, and in the same way, it is felt, they are in equal need of a more subtle and difficult form of training to enable them to play their parts as useful members of the whole civilized community, which embraces all professions.'

Essentially a movement such as this means that the function of the school must be to develop in the future citizen ability to think for himself, to examine statements critically, and to reach a decision for himself. This has been

a fundamental demand of the so-called movement for free education or activity instruction. The distinction is often made in the statement that it is the function of the school to teach pupils not what to think but how to think. There is some danger that under both the movement for free education and that for training how to think there may be a tendency to forget that pupils must have the wherewithal to think. Self-expression and creative activity may be desirable but the individual must have first something to express and something with which to create, and that something must be derived from the group or social culture. Instead of self-expression it would be preferable to promote the self-realization of each pupil in accordance with his interests and abilities but directed to the same common goal for all—informed citizenship.

In all the discussions for free education, however, the emphasis has been more upon freedom for the child than freedom for the teacher. There may be implicit in the demand for freedom for the child the notion that it cannot be attained unless the teacher is free. Too frequently, however, administrative regulations and the character of teacher preparation militate against freedom for the teacher. No teacher can be said to be free if he is limited by a prescribed syllabus, prescribed textbooks, inadequate equipment, examinations of an external kind, and even a system of inspection which seeks to assess a teacher's qualities by one standard while professing other aims of education. But when one demands freedom for the teacher, it must be understood that this means the release of the teacher's abilities to act in accordance with the principles of his professional preparation, his understanding of the pupils and their environment, his co-operation with his colleagues, his mastery of content, and his understanding of the world about him.

Nor is it enough to provide a free environment for the teachers; whenever an educational transition is made, it is essential to educate public opinion for it. Unless the gauge

between school and society is to be broken parents and public must also understand what the school is trying to do. Such an intimate relationship between the school and the public is two-edged—it educates the public and in turn secures support for the school. But it does far more—it tends to develop such reciprocal relations between school and society that it encourages that variety and that flexibility which alone can make an educational system progressive.

It is obvious that if this view of the relations between school and society is sound—and it is, of course, the democratic, liberal point of view—then the relations between the State and education must change. If the progress of democratic societies is to depend upon the trained intelligence of responsible citizens, the State as the organized agency of society must assume the burden of providing facilities for education, either directly or in co-operation with local governmental authorities. Equality of educational opportunity, which is the essence of a democratic scheme of education, can only be provided through the concerted efforts of society acting through constituted government agencies. But it does not follow that the provision and support of education by the State must be accompanied by control from the State. If the interests of society are best served by providing for the fullest development of the individual and by the promotion of variety of experience due to variety of abilities, interests and environments rather than by uniformity, then the task of the State is to create the best machinery for their encouragement and the concern of the State should not be that all are educated alike according to a common syllabus or a prescribed examination but that all should have equal opportunities for education accessible to them. A democratic society if it leaves both the provision and the control of education to the State is just as much in danger as a totalitarian state of establishing a monopoly of education, not only to the exclusion of private schools but to the

prevention of experimentation and adaptation to local needs—whether social or individual.

The function of a governmental authority in education—whether state or local—is to provide the means for promoting equality of educational opportunity, exercising such supervision as will guarantee equality of educational provision, and creating such conditions as will enable teachers to do their best work in the school and classroom. For the State to do otherwise would in the end mean that it seeks to control the free development of social and national culture and to prevent that adaptation to changing demands by which alone a culture can advance.

In order to allay any fears that such a relationship between the State and education would mean a lowering of standards or lessening of efficiency, it must be remembered that the only sure guarantee of both standards and efficiency is the teacher and his professional preparation. If again it is inferred that such a system would lead to a type of free education which cultivates unrestrained individualism, it must be borne in mind that one of the essential aspects of the professional preparation of teachers is to cultivate mastery not merely of subject-matter to be taught but an understanding of the social meaning of such subject-matter and its value in developing the individual as a member of society. There is much talk today of the training of personality, but personality is too often confused with individuality. Individuality is what a person is by his original nature; personality is what he becomes as he acquires his share of the group culture, that is, by virtue of his education.

It is only as a state system of education provides the machinery for the reciprocal interrelations between school and society that both can be invigorated, that the school can in a genuine way be adapted to cultivate a realistic understanding of the world in which the pupils live and grow up, and that society can advance through the enlightenment, intelligence and informed citizenship of its members.

DR. PAUL DENGLER (Austria): *The New Germany and Her Schools*

I shall describe for you German schools as they were, as they developed under the Republic after the Great War, and as they are developing today. Recently I spent some time in Germany investigating conditions, and what I know I shall tell you. I want to make it clear, particularly in connection with such a controversial subject as the new Germany, that I do not desire to speak for one side or the other, but to look in a very impartial way at developments that are definitely interesting, whether we like them or not. There is so much propaganda broadcast today that it is extremely hard to preserve a scholarly attitude. I hope, however, to be a faithful member of my own party—I have the advantage of being its only member!

It is certainly very difficult to judge present-day Germany from the outside, from the reports that are received. It is also very difficult to judge it from within. One never knows when one talks with people whether it is fear that keeps them from telling the truth as they feel it. Some are openly critical, but even then one does not know how far their attitude is based on principle. In any political situation those who are 'in' like it, those who are 'out' dislike it. There are other difficulties. Many followers of the existing regime are blind enthusiasts—to ask them a question is almost an insult. This also makes it hard to get at the truth.

With this explanation I shall start on my subject, adding only one word about the German character as a whole. We educationists all over the world should study more thoroughly than anything else the psychologies of different peoples. Austrians have a knack of absorbing a little of every country. When a Frenchman comes to Vienna he will say, 'Why, this is just like Paris!' and when the German arrives he will say,

'Why, it is just like Berlin!' The Italians, too, feel at home in Vienna, and the Slavs see in it something of their own.

The French like action, but they must have action based on reason, based above everything else on form. The Italians are happy if they have action alone; they do not ask for reason. The British do not want action if it involves any difficulty; they will make no fuss and just muddle through. The Germans are great thinkers, but they need always a dogma for action, something to start from. Then, having adopted a theory, they will carry it out to the letter. The Russians, in their adoption of the theories of Karl Marx, show the same characteristic: 'Marx says so; it must be right!' That is all there is to it!

Reference to the difference between Germany and other nations reminds me of a conference on education held at Elsinore, Denmark, in 1929. At the close of the proceedings I was invited to a gathering at which the German and American visitors were present. Visiting first the American group, I found them making fun of the whole conference—in a very charming way—coming out one by one to imitate the various speakers, including myself. They were all very happy, and although in the midst of people of so many different nationalities, they never seemed to lose their friendliness and love of harmless entertainment. When I came to the German group, I found them all serious, one after the other coming out to expound his world philosophy, his remedy for all world evils. At midnight they went out into the street, red-faced and still arguing; they had heard nearly a dozen world philosophies and knew no more about any of them. You must, therefore, keep that picture of the German character in mind.

Germany passed very rapidly from an Empire to a Republic, from a state where everything was ordered to a democracy. Germany became democratic, but was not ready for democracy. After the Great War there were reparations to be paid, the colonies were gone, part of the country, the

Rhineland, was cut off from the Fatherland, many heavy conditions were imposed on the nation. This was not a good start for democracy. Further, there was the bitter experience which explains the rise of Hitler—Germany alone was held responsible for the War, though Britain and America were the first to admit later that its deep-lying causes were very complex. The idea in those days was that the world would be a paradise without those bad German boys. All this bitterness made a bad start for democracy. Germany was not aided enough from the outside. It is an old British custom not to fight the under-dog, but there were other powers who seemed afraid to let Germany get on her feet, who thought it necessary to keep her down. German democracy after the War, though a high ideal, was doomed from the beginning. All this, together with the economic depression and wild inflation, must be considered.

Germany was divided into two camps, both radical. There was the radicalism of the Left and the radicalism of the Right. Then it was that the national socialist system advocated by Hitler and his followers came into favour. What is the essence of the national socialist philosophy? There are three main points. First, it places the community before the individual very distinctly and decidedly, while the democratic aim is a free individual in a happy community. In the age-long strife between the individual and the community the idea of freeing the individual gradually developed—'if you are able, get to the top.' Under the new system, however, the individual becomes a little wheel in the middle of the machinery. There is always the idea of sacrifice present in the community under a dictatorship. Second, what is the community? The international communists also place the community first, but their conception of it is different. In the communist theory the community comprises the so-called expropriated classes, whatever and wherever they are. In the new Germany the community is made up of all those of the same country and blood (if there can be one blood). It means

the breaking down of classes. Third, for the control of this 'community of blood and soil' there must be, instead of democracy, a planned leadership, not based on the democratic idea of leadership, which has a suggestion of a survival of the fittest, but on a selection of special individuals, who will then be trained in special surroundings to take their place at the top of the future society.

The philosophy is almost identical with that of Italy, except that the Italians define community not in terms of blood and soil, but of acknowledgment of Italy as the Motherland. Jews in Italy have only to say that they acknowledge Italian rule and they are accepted. The Italian idea is based on the theories of Gentile, who in turn has in his philosophy borrowed from such German philosophers as Hegel and Nietzsche. He established as the task for the educator the development of each individual member of the community to his highest through sacrifice, and made it the task of every individual to become a better member of the community. Mussolini saw the possibilities of the philosophy, and when on one occasion he had a thousand young people before him, he gave his own interpretation to Gentile's idea of giving oneself to the community. With a book in one hand and a rifle in the other, he struck a characteristic pose and cried, 'If you have a book and know how to shoot, then you are a good fascist!'

In their development and application these three principles of community before individual, blood and soil, and planned leadership caused friction in a number of directions. First of all the liberals accepted the creed of democracy, and refused the idea of planned leadership. Secondly, the 'blood-and-soil' idea of the community did not meet with the approval of the Marxists. Then there was the Church. The national socialist attitude towards the Church is that it may continue religious education only so long as its teachings conform to the theories of the State. The new Germany is not anti-religious, but anti-Church. Further friction arose over the victims of the World War. What about the Germans in Czechoslovakia, the

people of Danzig, of Austria, of Switzerland? According to the philosophy of 'blood and soil' Austria must join Germany.

Turning now to the schools, I propose, as I first announced, to describe the three stages in turn. In the old Germany the schools were divided into two categories. The elementary school, which was for the masses, took children from 6 to 14 years, teaching them the three Rs in a very thorough and proficient way. At 14 about 90 per cent of them finished their general education, some going to vocational schools and most of the remainder entering industry. For about 12 per cent of the population, mainly the children of the upper classes, there was another type of school—the *Gymnasium*. It was based on the humanistic idea, but the school windows were carefully closed against the world outside. A pupil's progress was judged by his certificates, and his success in obtaining employment afterwards depended entirely on them. All the emphasis was on the individual, who was moulded to a pattern. The emphasis, too, was on the acquisition of knowledge instead of the development of an inquiring mind. No questions were invited from the children. They were expected to conform to a standard pattern.

Then came the revolution. Instead of placing the emphasis on the intellect, the schools emphasised the emotions. Instead of knowledge, the aim was happiness. There used to be a saying: 'It does not matter what you teach children so long as they hate it!' The new republican German schools took as their ideal: 'It does not matter what you teach children as long as they like it!' The children developed the collective spirit, living together in a happy environment—flowers and pictures, previously taboo, were brought into the schoolroom. The aim of education was culture and creation instead of reproduction. Boys wrote their own stories, composed their own tunes, made their own musical instruments; they became interested in everything that happened around them. There was differentiation instead of dry intellectual drill; the child mind was expanding. Everything that the child did became

important—people in spectacles were seen going round with notebooks taking down the pearls of wisdom that fell from the children's lips. Every school was experimental; all looked different in this new blossoming into life; there was a new enthusiasm among the teachers, who were no longer dignified professors. The authorities did away as much as possible with private schooling and with the dual education system, aiming to give all children a chance, keeping them all together till the age of 14 in what was called a unified school. The problem was, of course, when the children should be separated, and how it should be decided which should go on to higher education and which to work.

But this springtime of hopes died, not through the fault of the teachers, but because of economic crises, bitterness and lack of understanding. All the hopes of 1926 had gone; civil war and further revolutions followed, and finally there came into power the group now known as the National Socialist Party.

The school of the present era is, as a result, more than ever emotional. But the educational aim is creative no longer, and the enquiring mind in the child is not encouraged. The education system is still developing, the tendency being towards an abolition of private instruction and a complete unification of the school. Special schools for the leaders are to be called, I understand, 'Adolf Hitler Schools.' Throughout the whole education system the three principles of fascism are in operation. The idea of sacrifice is being presented continually in the form of stories of those who have died for their country. The doctrine of 'blood and soil' is strongly emphasized—everything centres about the Fatherland and the life and customs of the German people. The schools aim at making the child a good comrade, making him physically fit, and, above all, a loyal member of the National Socialist Party.

In youth organisations (which today contain about 6,000,000 members) the ideas of community before individual and of

planned leadership are those chiefly stressed. These are the practice schools for developing the leadership principle. From the age of 10 the boys are drilled with the first military group and equipped with their blue jackets and hats. When they reach the age of 14 they join the Hitler youth organisation which includes youths from 14 to 18 years. These youths are always well-equipped and are kept under strict discipline. In addition to this four-year course there is another youth scheme—the great apprentices' competition, in which thousands participate. Competitions are organised in each province, and the provincial finalists meet to decide the national winner. The only reward offered is that the winner is introduced to Hitler and allowed to shake hands with him—a fact which shows the emotionalism of the young Germans of today. Implicit obedience is essential; unless one can accept the doctrines of the National Socialist Party in their entirety, one has to drop out of any but the lowest positions.

At the age of 18 the youths enter the labour camps for a term of six months. Every German has to spend half a year in one of these camps, which have been established in all parts of the country. Organised in units of 16, the youths live under strict and highly regimented conditions. Rising at six, they go out at seven o'clock to the roads or the forests to do some kind of manual work. One cannot enter a university without a labour camp certificate as well as a secondary school certificate. In camp no pocket-money is allowed, no matter how rich the parents, and if the parents choose to send a tuck-box or some other gift, it must be divided equally among the whole sixteen.

I know that revolutionary Germany is not liked very much, but I know also that the German people are still very much liked. The world will not forget the great contributions made by German thinkers, German musicians, German artists, German poets. It will not forget that finest representative of German thought, Goethe. I visited recently his former home at Frankfurt on the anniversary of his

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death, and after looking through several rooms filled with papers and pictures and other souvenirs, I came to a small chamber, empty save for a noble bust of Goethe. And encircling the base of it there was a laurel wreath with a card inscribed, 'From the House of Shakespeare to the House of Goethe.' That impressed me greatly, as symbolizing that spirit of international goodwill and community of interest which is the surest basis for world peace.

DR. PAUL L. DENGLER (Austria): *European Youth*

As compared with the turmoil of post-war conditions, the pre-war world was a stable one—at least on the surface. And youth in those days believed in that stable world that was supposed never to change. Class lines existed in many countries of old Europe but the masses rarely attempted to break through them. Young people had little trouble in finding work. For the university students, or for those who belonged to the well-to-do classes, it was an easy matter; but even those who had no such educational or financial advantages had usually little difficulty in getting a job. In such a world there was relatively little questioning of the social order—even in the universities most of the young people did not pay much attention to political, racial and social conflicts.

The home was a very important social unit and the authority of parents was strong. Often the father decided on the future vocation of his son, sometimes even arranged his daughter's marriage. There was little sport; and the large majority of young people did not indulge much in life out of doors. As it was the general custom for children to stay with their parents during vacation time, the influence of family life did not cease for a moment throughout the year. Youth

organisations were unknown before 1900, and there were few of them even at the time of the outbreak of the World War.

It was in those days that an enthusiastic teacher named Richard Schirrmann lived in the German Rhineland. He was much concerned about the health of the young industrial workers, and conceived the idea of taking young apprentices out into the country during their free time, especially over the week-end. His followers dressed simply and went bare-headed. Some of them took guitars with them, and with rucksacks on their backs, they wandered through the countryside singing old folk songs, gathering in the evenings around a bonfire on the top of a hill. From these trips, with their opportunities for comradeship and contact with nature, the wanderers returned refreshed to their work, sunburnt and strengthened. Schirrmann did more than this. Thanks to his initiative, his young people were admitted to school buildings where they could spend the night sleeping on mattresses or on straw.

Both of the fundamental ideas of the later 'youth movement' were contained in these humble beginnings: the idea of bringing young people together to enjoy a simple open-air life away from the cities and from adults, and the idea of having shelters where they could spend the night inexpensively. This first *Wandervogel* movement grew rapidly. In 1913 several thousand high school boys and girls from all over the country met on the top of a mountain in central Germany, and founded what was called the Free German Youth Movement. In an impressive ceremony around a mighty bonfire, they pledged themselves not to drink spirits, not to smoke, to live a simple moral life, and to shape it upon their own responsibility. It was a romantic, 'back-to-nature' movement, along the lines of Rousseau. It was also to some extent a protest against existing conditions, a revolt of youth against too much guidance and supervision by the adult world, and especially a reaction against the rigid military spirit of the

schools of those days. But it remained a rather negative movement, a movement without a constructive social ideal.

The World War suddenly interrupted the organisation of youth movements in Germany and elsewhere, and the young men went into the trenches to fight for their respective countries. As the War dragged on, however, their thoughts turned more and more towards the kind of life which they wanted to lead if they returned safely from the ordeal. A longing for freedom and democracy, and a spirit of world brotherhood developed in opposition to the cruelty and futility of war. This was true of the youth of all the countries of Europe on whichever side they stood. Thus it was that when the War was over many countries which hitherto had not enjoyed democratic government turned towards democracy—so it was in Germany, in Austria, and in other countries belonging to the former central powers.

The youth movement was revived soon after the War, and it was then that its aims became clear and positive. Young people felt that it was up to them to make a similar catastrophe impossible for the succeeding generations—the responsibility for building a better world had been placed on their shoulders. The old authority of the family was on the decline; the relations between the sexes had become simple and natural; life out of doors was now considered not an extravagance but a necessity.

But the spiritual foundations on which the different youth groups wished to build their reconstructed world differed greatly. In my part of the world, where democracy permitted free self-expression to everybody, three main ideas attracted the younger generation. Many of the young people thought that only the socialist organisation of the State, or even a world revolution on communist lines, could save civilisation. Believing that the World War had been the result of international capitalist interests, they joined Marxist workers' organisations, hoping to help to overthrow capitalism and to establish upon its ruins the classless society of which they

were dreaming. Others, however, declined to believe that the salvation of humanity could come through class war, which to them meant hatred and repression. They were tired of fighting, and declared that a renewal of the religious spirit was the most urgent need of the people. The fact that the nations had lost their true faith in God, they said, had been responsible for plunging the world into that tragic conflict. Again, many young people in the defeated countries felt that only a revival of the national spirit and true patriotism could again bring their country to greatness. Likewise in the victorious countries of Central Europe, which had profited by the peace settlement, young patriots pledged themselves to safeguard the achievements of the victory. There were also, of course, large groups of young people throughout Europe who enjoyed the ceremonial and the many privileges of youth organisations without taking up a definite socialist, religious or nationalist attitude.

In Germany, the birth-place of the modern youth movement, organisations of the kind I have mentioned grew more rapidly in strength and numbers than in any other country, and after some time they were united under a body known as the National Council of German Youth Organisations. More and more homes, castles, mountain lodges, and even ships were turned into youth hostels, and new hostels which are still being used today were specially built for the young hikers. At the present time there are in Germany over 2,100 such hostels. Some of these are real palaces of youth, architecturally adapted to their surroundings and possessing every comfort and convenience. The ultimate aim is to have hostels everywhere, each at one day's hiking distance from the next. In each hostel there is a 'house father' who looks after the discipline and general organisation while his wife looks after the kitchen. A room is always provided in which young people who bring their own food in rucksacks to cut down expenses can do their own cooking. No drinking or smoking is allowed and everyone must retire at 10 p.m. at the latest;

to stay overnight costs surprisingly little—about sixpence a person. Nearly 7,000,000 young people, including about 100,000 from other countries, spent at least one night in German hostels last year. The youth hostel movement has spread to other countries, notably Austria, Scandinavia, Great Britain, France, Holland and Switzerland.

Why is it that in spite of the common sacrifices of the War, European youth is today more disunited than ever? And why did democracy disappear so soon after its establishment in a number of European countries? The reasons lie partly in the very nature of Europe. It is difficult for New Zealanders to realise what a crowded world it is in which we Europeans live—the Central European nations in particular have not enough *Lebensraum*, that is, breathing-space, to enjoy a happy and peaceful life within the community of nations. Another characteristic of our Old World is that our entire culture and national existence is deeply rooted in the past. Every one of the nations of Europe has fought during centuries for its national existence. People have often struggled in bloody wars for the possession of a few hills and rivers—think of the Rhine and the thousand years of feuds between France and Germany. All the memories of defeat and humiliation are present in the hearts of the living generation and are kept alive for the next one through home and school. A third reason lies in the new desires created by the technical progress of our world with its many new inventions and the development of world markets. The nations have become industrialised and claim easy and cheap access to the sources of raw materials. As the world is organised today, however, some countries possess so much of these raw materials that they can export almost unlimited quantities after supplying their own needs, while others depend entirely on the goodwill of the happy owners and have to pay heavily for what they need.

Finally, the Peace Treaties which terminated the Great War are one of the main reasons for continued unrest. The

world was divided anew and the defeated nations had no part in what was done. The League of Nations, which was expected to straighten out later on the injustices left by the treaty-makers, was given an almost impossible task—it had to face on all sides national pride and resentment. It became the fatal weakness of the League that it tried to perpetuate a state of affairs in Europe which from the beginning had not been based on voluntary acceptance but on dictates without consultation.

The rise of authoritarian systems of an extreme nationalist character seems to be the natural consequence of a situation that became intolerable to proud nations. What was the influence of that political change upon the younger generation? Youth organisations remained in existence in the totalitarian states, but they had to become something very different from what they had been under the democratic regime. Regrettable though this may seem, it was almost inevitable. The young people were caught up in the spiritual mobilisation of the nation and the youth movement became a political organisation for the purpose of the State and nothing but the State. Its aims and beliefs are therefore based exclusively on the dogmas of the victorious party, dogmas which it must accept unquestioningly. The youth movement has been completely reshaped to the will of the rulers, and control by the State begins with the mother's health before the child is born and continues through infancy, childhood and adolescence to the university and beyond.

The young people themselves are imbued with an amazing spirit of heroism. They believe in their leaders and in their ideals and are ready to die for them. That fascism and national socialism have a good side, and that the young people of Italy and Germany are filled with a high degree of idealism, is sometimes overlooked in the older democracies where children grow up in a very different and happier environment. The young people I saw in Italy and Germany were fine in character and had strong and healthy bodies.

Those who condemn young fascists because they are trained to sing war songs and to carry guns must realise that such things are only symptoms and that it is the sickness and not the symptoms that must be understood and if possible cured.

The totalitarian system, born of economic uncertainty and distress, is certainly a transitory phase. The old ideas of the value of personality and the importance of the humanities are too fundamental to be lost forever to the world. That they have disappeared at the moment in some of the leading countries is certainly distressing to those who believe in tolerance and human brotherhood. But it is of no use and no help at all to add bitterness to bitterness, to let oneself be carried away by emotion and believe that all the right is on one side and all the wrong on the other.

Instead of blaming the young people and their leaders, we must examine the situation objectively and without passion. That distressing consequences may result from the state of mind in which a large part of European youth finds itself today cannot be denied. There is great danger in ignorance of other peoples and this is intensified where the young people are denied information and where every word that is printed passes before the watchful eye of the censor. In the totalitarian states there is not only ignorance of what is going on in the rest of the world, but also, very often, an unjustified idea of superiority resulting from one-sided information and the absence of the real knowledge of accomplishments and shortcomings which only constructive criticism can bring.

Is it possible to point the way to a solution of Europe's problems? There is certainly as an *ultima ratio* the possibility of another armed conflict that will involve the younger generation in a bloody struggle. Quite apart from the dreadful sufferings such a terrible catastrophe would bring, it would in no way be the solution for which we are striving. War would make matters very much worse than they were before. Everybody knows it, and no responsible leader of any nation, and no nation as a whole, wants war. The terrific armaments

all over Europe are not indications of a war-like spirit but rather of fear and distrust.

The solution to my mind lies in removing the causes. First of all, a just revision of the Peace Treaties must take place—and the sooner the better—in a spirit of sincerity, and of readiness for fair compromise on all sides. To say that one is ready for international co-operation and at the same time to stick to a *status quo* which makes such co-operation from the beginning impossible, can only lead to the catastrophe that all fear. Second, every nation, great or small, must be guaranteed free and easy access to cheap raw materials and at no greater cost than to the nations which at present own them. Third, emigration must again be made possible. Before the war young people who were able and willing to work and could not find jobs went from the over-crowded areas of Central Europe to other countries where there was room for them, thus relieving the situation at home. Emigration, the safety valve of pre-war times, has ceased to exist. The contrast between empty and over-crowded countries in the world today is indeed too great. Fourth, the gradual re-establishment of free trade should be the aim of all governments. This cannot come overnight but calls for careful planning. To begin with, progress is likely to be made not by great world economic conferences but by adjustments between country and country which would show the way. Autarchy means the death of prosperity and leads to war.

All these steps and many more, however, depend on something much more important—a new attitude of mind. The problem of world recovery is a spiritual one even more than it is economic. Let there be a few true leaders in a few countries who are able to inspire confidence in one another across the borders. If they contrive to remove fear then the first and most important step towards recovery has already been taken. The word ‘generosity’ has almost disappeared from the diplomatic vocabulary—if it was ever in it. By this I mean

the readiness to give up something by one's own free will, without being forced to do so.

It is a sad fact that the nations of Europe which are such close neighbours do not really know one another at all and have neglected the opportunities for contact which technical progress has offered them. Wireless, the press, the cinema, cheap and rapid transportation from one country to another—alas, they have left the old prejudices born of ignorance just as they were before. The situation is really worse than it was in the time of our fathers because there is no longer any excuse for ignorance and prejudice. Nevertheless, technical progress holds great possibilities for the future. Visits by young people to other countries in which contacts are made with other youth organisations can be a precious source of conciliation. The press, too, can help to promote international understanding by fair and objective reporting. Again, it is of the first importance that school text-books, especially those in history, should be written in the spirit of fairmindedness and not in that of glorification of one's own country and contempt for those of others. Everywhere in education the common cause of mankind should be stressed. Human history is a history not only of wars, but also of discoveries and spiritual victories which concern the whole of mankind. Children will think with more respect of another nation if they hear of the really great men and women whom it has produced, who not only served their own country but mankind at large. The problem of economic and moral recovery is in the last analysis a question of education in the broadest sense of the word.

The next generation must be wiser, broader in outlook and in sympathy, and stronger in faith than our own. And there is no doubt that the teachers of the world will be ready to educate the citizens of tomorrow in that spirit. They must be permitted and encouraged to do so, just as today they are sometimes forced to be small and narrow-minded to please their masters. The teachers of Europe will do their duty towards their brothers in other countries but the statesmen

must first remove the real reasons for unrest and unhappiness. It is for such statesmen, men of wisdom, practical sense, courage, and a vision that goes beyond the next election, that we are longing. It is for such broad-minded and truly international leadership that we are waiting anxiously.

DR. HAROLD RUGG (U.S.A.): *Education and Social Progress in the 'New' Industrial-Democratic Countries*

In selecting the theme 'Education and Social Progress' for our discussion we could have appropriately added 'in the new countries of the modern world.' For your country and mine are two of the 'new' countries that emerged from the spectacular conquest of virgin continents by our common British ancestors. As a consequence we share together in the tradition and outlook of the north-west Europeans who in several recent centuries slowly invented and perfected industrial-democratic culture, and spread it over the six continents of the earth. But we share in other and more devastating ways than merely in the general climate of opinion which pervades our two countries alike, important though that is. We share in the social conditions and problems which we have inherited in common from our Anglo-Saxon forebears. It is, then, in the background of our common Euro-American culture and common social problems that we approach the immediate task set for our study.

With your permission, then, I shall ask you to consider the role of education in contributing to social progress, particularly in these 'new' countries that are now experimenting with industrial-democratic culture. And I shall suggest that we orient our thought first by a brief analysis of our times.

Whether for better or for worse we who have come to maturity after 1910 are living in a great transition between two stages of change from agrarian to industrial civilization. The first stage, with its roots in a thousand years of slow change, made its definite appearance in the later 1700's, augmented quickly during the nineteenth century, and came to its close about the time of the First World War, 1914-1918.

The second stage, evolving slowly out of the first after 1900, was expedited greatly by the War, and accumulated momentum swiftly in the 1920's. The financial and business crash which began in late 1929 changed conditions of employment so drastically that today we all see what only a few had seen before—that we are moving into a new epoch in world history. We are *moving from the first industrial revolution*, which some students call the machine age, into the second industrial revolution, which current publicists are calling the power age.

Perhaps the most important idea to be grasped is that the stage we are leaving was the first industrial revolution. For the first time in man's history he had succeeded in making a highly productive economic system. Note the unique ways in which it was the first of its kind:

1. The first invention of efficient power-driven machines.

2. The first central electric stations transmitting power over long distances.

3. The first vertical corporations with their giant concentrations of capital, their mechanism of automatic, integrated, and interchangeable fabrication, standardization of parts and processes, and specialization of labour.

4. The first unhampered application of the concept *laissez-faire* in economic life. Given efficient prime movers and machines, men, for the first time, were really free to exploit—to exploit people as well as things.

5. The first attempt to organize the collective economic affairs of nations on a world-wide interdependent basis.

As a result, six hundred million people are now dependent on the uninterrupted operation of a fragile world mechanism of specialized production and exchange, with fluctuating units of money, wages, and prices, and an intercontinental market based on widely varying national standards of living.

6. The first experimentation with the concepts of political democracy, notably those of government by the consent of the governed, freedom of movement, freedom of assemblage and freedom of speech, trial by jury, and the like.

7. The first experimentation with the concept of education for all the children of all the people.

We need not multiply the cases. Our list documents sufficiently the initial character of the period of experimentation at the close of which we now stand. In these and in other ways the stream of events of the past two centuries constituted the dawn of a new culture. It was a 'first day.' The process of change exhibited utterly unique economic and social trends. Let us note several which were typical of this first industrial and social revolution of modern times:

First: It was a period of expansion, of spectacularly rapid growth. Every phase grew at positively accelerating rates; the production of goods, the aggregation of populations and their concentration in urban communities, the radius of the market, horizons of communication and exchange, the interconnections of cultures, the time-beat and rhythm of urban life. All was positive acceleration.

Second: The first stage of industrialization was an orgy of building things. The economic system, and with it, the school system, were quickly erected. Dynamic catchwords energized the struggle both with geography and with native owners. Conquer and settle . . . Build . . . Construct . . . Make it big, make it stunning.

Third: There was undesigned and uncontrolled exploitation. The virgin continents and the drives of human nature

contributed to a restless haste to get immediate profits. This was true in South Africa; in Australia, in America, in all the 'new' countries. So everything in the earth was seized upon—the top soil, the forests, the gold and the diamonds, the coal and the oil, the iron, the copper and other metals. Everything in and on the earth was taken in a mad, unrestricted, and unplanned race for gain.

The period was an uproarious one of hectic trial and error—mostly error—and waste. The concepts of private ownership and free competition made design in the first era of industrialism impossible. Although, even at the beginning of the debauch, thinking men counselled the imperative need for planning and social control, most of the energetic, shrewd, and ambitious men threw themselves into the race for money and power, and rationalized their conduct by the French economic philosophers' doctrine of *laissez-faire*. Western man translated the physiocrats' dictum to suit his personal desires—'Freedom to exploit' . . . 'Every man for himself—and the devil take the hindmost.'

Neither thoughtful design nor contemplation was easy in such an intellectual climate. Mental life consisted of a succession of fairly obvious problems, each to be solved by impulsive generalization. Naturally, thinking was for most men merely perceptual reaction. The inhibiting of impulse for moments of thoughtful choice between alternatives became a rare occurrence. Percept ruled over men's minds and but few achieved the attitude of problem-solving and conceptual generalization.

I have named merely a few conspicuous examples of the propulsive concepts and attitudes and the guiding outlook of this 'first day' of industrial culture. It is not doubted that they produced remarkable physical achievements. But that they also produced baffling social and personal problems for us who live just at the dawn of the second industrial stage is equally clear.

Turning now to the second epoch of industrial revolution,

the emerging power age, we find certain well-defined contrasting characteristics.

First: Whereas the first epoch was one of expansion, of positively accelerating growth, the second is to be one of consolidation. We must now take thought; we must design an economic and social system which will work. In this task educational workers must play an important part.

Second: The orgy of sheer physical building is over. The major part of the economic system is erected. We have passed out of the wasteful machine age of crude steam engines, slipping belts, and creaking pulleys and gears into the power age of efficient giant generators, long distance power transmission, and automatic continuous straight-line process factory production. The implications of this for thinking men are clear; they cannot deal with the problem of the new day with the ideas and attitudes of the old one. For example, we no longer live in a regime of scarcity; we have already passed into the day of potential plenty. For the first time in the world's history men in America, and other new countries, can now produce a civilization of abundance for all. Our modern language and thought from now on must show that we know it, and our educational design must show that we know it, too.

Third: The initial exploitation for immediate private profit and personal aggrandizement of the first epoch must give way, in the second, to designed and controlled production for the total group. Our new era of plenty is only a potential, not an actual one. To bring it into existence will require the building of a distribution system which is co-ordinate in effectiveness with the production system which has already been erected. But to do that in a democratic society many minds must be made aware of the necessity for deep-running changes in the ownership and operation of basic utilities and industries.

That is, new problems of social control now confront us, and to deal with them we must build a new language of

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thought and discussion. For example, in a regime of the initial exploitation of virgin continents, the concepts of *laissez-faire*, of success via competition, were useful, perhaps indispensable. But our regime today is very different: it is one first, in which an efficient production system has already been erected; second, in which there is no longer any relation between what a worker can produce and the share of the social income which society can pay him as purchasing power; third in which it is increasingly evident that profits and fixed charge take an undue proportion of the social income; fourth, in which personal competition interrupts the operation of the system and withdraws much of it from use. In such a regime, I say, the concepts of scarcity, *laissez-faire*, private ownership and control of basic industries and utilities constitute the vocabulary of a foreign and useless language.

Fourth: As a final illustration, we must note that intellectually and spiritually the second industrial age is also new. We have moved from an epoch which demands action and percept above all things into one in which design and realization are possible. Indeed, two crucial problems of design confront us in these transition years. There is, first, the problem of designing a social structure that will produce the economy of abundance which is guaranteed by our resources and our technology. There is, second, the problem of designing a creative and appreciative personal way of life within that structure. The hub of the former is social control; that of the latter is self-cultivation. The guide to the former is the technologist and experimentalist; the guide to the latter is the artist and the religionist. The truly great culture on the verge of which we now stand cannot be ushered in if either of these problems of design is ignored.

The grave problem which the educators of the 'new' countries face can be succinctly summed up:

1. Out of the dawn of the new industrial culture three curves of interdependent social trends traced themselves on

the moving record of history—economic productivity; social invention; popular consent.

2. Throughout the 'first day' of industrialism it was taken for granted that all three would rise sufficiently synchronised to preserve social stability; but under the momentum of expansion economic productivity was sharply accelerated, while social invention and popular consent lagged cumulatively behind.

3. Meanwhile other constituent trends, such as the growth of population, which had given life to the advance of man's productivity, passed both points of inflection and gave fair warning of impending social change.

4. To the people generally these changes from positive to negative acceleration meant nothing. But to the man of creative design—the engineer, the statesman, the educator—they were signposts of a great transition.

5. This is the hypothesis: When, therefore, in the calculus of human events the curves of interdependent social trends either pass points of inflection or produce equations of different orders, men of intelligence revise their systems of thought and design new courses of democratic action.

To throw out into bold relief the insistent problems presented to educators in our times I urge the hypothesis, then, that in this great transition, our high-powered inter-dependent world system of industry, agriculture, business, and government can continue to be operated under the democratic method *only when these three trends keep pace with one another*. Social invention and popular consent must keep up with economic invention and organization; we have seen the manner in which they have got completely out of step with one another.

Whether or not the educational workers of the 'new' industrial countries comprehend the warning in these technical appraisals of our times, they certainly can grasp the dramatic challenge to education embraced in the three curves of social trend to which I refer.

First, the trend of economic productivity. The curves describing the quantity of goods that a man can now produce are mounting at such an accelerated rate that, in the judgment of competent engineers, within a fairly small number of years we shall witness the production of quantity, or standardized, goods relatively without the interposition of men. Note carefully that this prediction refers to the mechanical production of quantity goods—goods that can be fabricated in mammoth lots by continuous straight-line factory processes. It has no reference to the vast amount of craft goods and services that can be produced only by the personal and creative effort of human beings. Moreover, let us recall a single crucial hypothesis from the study of productivity and purchasing power—namely, that in the quantity production of goods there is no longer any discernible relation between what a man can produce and the share of the social income that society can pay him for producing it.

Second, the trend of social invention. I personally draw the conclusion that when such a point arrives in the trend of economic affairs, government, that is, the people as a whole, must step in and take charge, working out a solution that will bring the greatest good to the greatest number of people. But that means the invention of creative methods of social control through government. Hence the economic trends are inextricably interrelated with the political trends; and when one lags out of step behind the other dangerous strains are set up in the social order. It is precisely that that has now taken place in the regulation of the collective affairs of men.

To focus our thought sharply on the dangerous breaking apart of these economic and political trends I have spoken of the significance of the shape of the curve of social invention and hence of control over the economic system. 'Curve' is used here as a dramatic measure, not as a quantitatively derived one. Actually, of course, we have no quantitative measures of the trend of creative intelligence in handling these difficult problems of social control. In a rough kind of way one could

plot the number and quality of men who understood the political problems that mounted as the decades of the mechanical conquest passed.

As the years of our great transition advanced, as historical perspective became longer, and as the symptoms of stalling of the system became more obvious, the number of students who understood the factors and trends steadily increased. Modern agencies of communication—notably the magazine and book press, the radio, the public forum, the college and school curriculum, and even the content of text-books—all helped to stretch the radius of political understanding among students and leaders. In the form of stereotypes it reached some of the political leaders and has recently been given widespread circulation. Certainly one thing has happened—the curve of creative social control as measured by the number of students who understand at least the rudiments of the new problems of government is now rising rapidly. It cannot be doubted that the years since 1930 constitute the beginning of the most creative period of social analysis in our entire history. Whether the bulk of creative understanding can increase rapidly enough to establish equilibrium with the curve of economic productivity remains as a crucial unanswered question of our time.

Third, *the trend of popular consent*. But there still remains the problem of the lag of the curve of popular consent. Our discussion has been built around the theme of social reconstruction by means of the democratic method. It is now a truism that, under this method, government will endure only when it is based upon the consent of the governed. But, we remind ourselves, when is consent given? First, when the people have constitutional guarantees of civil and political liberty. Second, when they have the machinery for registering collective judgments at the polls, that is, when there is popular suffrage. Third, when they have the machinery for the adequate assembling and digesting of the facts of their social issues and problems and for public discussion of them. Fourth,

when they have sufficient understanding of their collective affairs to give intelligent approval or disapproval to the acts of their representatives in office, and sufficient initiative to continue them in or recall them from those offices. Only when these desiderata are satisfied have the people given consent.

As a result of the seven-hundred-year-long struggle of the middle class for participation in government, the first two principles of consent have been established in the British Empire, in the United States, and certain other democratic countries. Constitutional guarantees and the machinery of the suffrage are matters of fact. But the curve of popular understanding, the crux of consent, has lagged far behind economic enterprise. It was to prevent this that our fathers set up universal elementary education and that we are now extending it upward to include the secondary level. But in the first century of building they could do no more than set up the physical structure, establish the principle of free education, and gather into it all the children of all the people. The physical task has been well done, and literacy, an important vehicle of understanding, has been given to more than ninety per cent of the people.

It was, no doubt, to be expected that the rank and file of teachers in the years of transition would be bewildered, uncertain, lacking either a social programme or a design for personal living. We must not forget that the nineteenth century was the first in human history in which the experiment of universal elementary education was tried. Hence it would be asking too much of the first century of public education to demand that it achieve more than the administrative thing. That much, at least, was done in all the industrializing nations. Ninety odd per cent of the children of 'educational age' were herded into 'school' and classified into regiments and companies. School buildings—in America very efficient ones—were erected to house them. Teachers were brought together in normal schools and taught what 'the book said.' Courses of study of intellectual subject-matter and sets of text-books

were prepared and graded to fit the year-groupings of the young people.

Thus in a century of hustling physical construction, a graded school system, national in scope and fitted to the chronological development of childhood and youth, emerged in every manufacturing country. Within it education was conceived to be:

1. Something that went on in a school, five hours a day, 180 days a year, apart from the home and community life which created it.
2. Something one did before entering life—a preparation for life.
3. Something one did with books, with words, not with the body, the spirit, all the sensibilities, the entire organism.

This then was the outcome of the first century of universal education. In every industrial nation the result was much the same—a standardized mechanism, a national replica of the technological culture that sponsored it, perfectly appropriate to the mechanistic psychology that guided education within it. Most of the administrators and teachers were conformists and routinists following a disciplinary psychology of ancient history. And of those in the mass school who were 'forward-looking,' the vast preponderance went with Thorndike and the behaviourist company rather than with the Dewey and the organic group. More recently some tens of thousands were made aware of the concept of active integrated response, but of these only a very small number really understood the theory and its implications for curriculum and learning.

Teachers, then, have come out of colleges and normal schools utterly lacking either in personal philosophy or sense of social direction. Confronted by this crisis they lack understanding either of the pressing economic and political problems or of the historical trends and factors which produced them. Faced with the task of total reconstruction of the school programme they flounder helplessly. Hence their need like

that of their people is not only for a social programme; it is equally the need to build a personal philosophy of living. And for these there are two guides—the technologist of social reconstruction and the artist.

Thanks to four centuries of scientific inquiry, and to the experimentalists' heroic efforts to phrase the scientific method of thought, the sources for a new language and a new theory of social control are fairly well developed. Certainly it should not be a superhuman task for the creative energies of western men to construct in the next generation working hypotheses for an interdependent and partially collective society. It will of course be definitely more difficult to put them into practicable operation; the lag of intelligent understanding and the social control of education and the other agencies of communication are the chief obstacles.

But the real danger of the great transition is that its creative minds shall take their cues solely from the students of social control, either the practical technologists or the theoretical experimentalists. For the problem of designing a personal way of life appropriate to the new 'second day' of industrialism not only parallels in importance and difficulty that of designing the new social structure itself; it is in addition a different problem. Men must live with themselves as well as with their fellows. This presents a unique problem of appreciative awareness and of self-cultivation. The danger is that men of creative potentiality absorbed in the insistent social problems of the day will ignore the educative task of self-cultivation.

That brings us to the artist, for he is the master of self-cultivation. Whereas the scientific student of society supplies us with concepts and methods with which to build a new social order, the artist supplies us with the key to the design of personal living. The concepts and methods of both are necessary. No matter how efficient its technology or humane its government, no culture will be truly great if it does not instil a high order of appreciative awareness in the people.

It is clear, therefore, that the adventure of beauty calls us as well as the effort of reason.

This brief outline of the chief characteristics of our times sets the stage for the educational drama of the twentieth century. The study of man and his changing society produces the conviction that we stand today at the verge of a great culture. The epoch which we are now entering is the first on the time-line of history in which man can bring forth a civilization of abundance, of tolerance, and of beauty.

It is a potentially great culture because, having invented efficient prime movers, man need no longer be a cringing slave of nature. It can be great, not because the twelve-hour day can and will become the four-hour day, but because work of any prolongation can become a happy, creative experience; great because of the possibility of the successful union of democracy and technology; great because the scientific method can at last be applied to the man-man relationships as well as to the man-thing relationships; in a word, great because man can now live creatively both as artist and as technologist.

We stand indeed at the crossroads to a new epoch; in various directions lie divers pathways to tomorrow. Some lead to social chaos and the possible destruction of interdependent ways of living. One leads, however, to the era of the great society. There is no way to short-circuit the solution to the problem of building this new epoch. There is only the way of education, and it is slow, not sudden.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Leisure Time Education*

The years of the great depression have brought a surprising change in our attitude to leisure. Not so long ago it seemed that mankind could not have enough leisure. Now after we have witnessed millions of men and women

unemployed all over the world leisure has become a serious problem. We cannot help looking forward rather fearfully to the increasing leisure the advance of machinery promises or threatens. Leisure has become one of the world's problems.

Actually, though it has never before been thought of in this way, it is a very old problem, a problem as old as mankind. There always have been times of idleness between spells of effort. And out of these idle times has come human progress. The only people who have not progressed have been people like the Australian aborigines whose life has been an incessant struggle for bare existence. Wherever there has been freedom from work some measure of civilisation has developed.

European civilisation had its beginning in the leisure of the Greek people, centuries before Christ. The way in which they spent their leisure is still worth considering, when we ask how we are to spend our own. As always, it was mixed good and evil. It included fighting and gambling, but it also included national games, public discussion and the artistic creations—poetry, music, painting, sculpture, drama. The Greeks had leisure to live life finely because the necessary work was done for them by slaves. In Christendom a similar situation repeated itself when the aristocratic classes in the different nations found themselves with time to spend because there was a labouring class, and they devised their own ways of spending their leisure: travel and sport and sometimes learning occupied their leisured days.

The modern problem, however, is different from that of any previous age, because what is at issue is the leisure of the common people, the people who must work and yet find themselves with idle hours after the day's toil, or with idle months and years in times of economic depression. This modern problem is very complicated: it is political and economic; it is local and it is world-wide. Here we are only concerned with its educational side. Our question is limited

to asking what education can do to help people to spend their free time satisfactorily.

To this there is no general answer: there is no one right way for a person to occupy himself in the free periods of life. Leisure-time occupation is an individual matter. Every man must determine for himself how he is to spend the time that is his own. Though most people do not realise it, here is an opportunity for a man or woman to become a real person, to do all the things that he or she thinks worth while. On a superficial view leisure time is an opportunity to escape from the restrictions of work time: after work, rest and relaxation; after occupations that keep one muscularly inactive, an outburst of energy. On a deeper view these leisure-time interests come as compensations for what is lacking in the regimented life. They enable each and all of us to round off our existence.

When the practical issues come to be considered there is a short and a long range view. In the case of grown-ups, the short range view is inevitable. The fact must be accepted that the grown-up has limited powers of adaptation. His outlook and his habits are fixed. What can be done to enable him to spend the leisure that he has not learned to enjoy? The answer that has come out of the experience of the years of unemployment in industrial countries like Great Britain is the Community Centre where people of different capacities and interests can find occupations of different kinds: practical, recreational, artistic, intellectual. The key idea is *things to be done* that people want to do, on a basis of mutual service. Especially is an occupational club necessary for young people just out of their adolescence and not yet established in the ways of manhood and womanhood.

The long range view is the view of the educator who plans to give children and youths a preparation which will enable them to find satisfactory leisure-time occupations for themselves. The question he must ask is what contribution the school can make to this aspect of the problem. This calls

for a re-thinking of the whole business of schooling. The school of today falls short in the training it gives its pupils for managing their own lives. If it did prepare them for life, they would manage to find their own ways of spending their leisure.

Education for life—what does that involve in the matter of school studies? The present curriculum considered from this point of view is decidedly poor. On the one hand, there are the traditional academic studies—languages, mathematics, science. There is not much in these for the leisure hours: most of them are soon forgotten when school comes to an end. On the other hand, there are the practical studies which are supposed to prepare for vocations: again, there is not much in these for leisure hours. Somehow or other the present scheme of work must be reduced—perhaps by dropping some of the language studies—so as to make room for personal interests in the sphere of the arts and crafts, or in the sphere of discussion. Here are centres of vital interest capable of being carried out from the schoolroom into life and filling leisure time happily and well.

But the problem for the educator is not merely one of school studies. What is far more important than anything that is learned in school is the development in the boys and girls of a free self-reliant personality, so that they can organise their own lives to good purpose in the times which are their own. For this there is needed a new kind of school where individuality and originality count for more than they do at present and learning is creative rather than imitative and secondhand. Children so set free will find no difficulty in solving the problem of leisure for themselves.

In speaking on *Education for Leisure* SIR PERCY MEADON strongly emphasised the importance of reading and good school libraries:

A bad press—and such things exist—and literature that is marked by distortion, suppression and lack of taste, are a

danger to the stability of character and the development of the mind. Children should be equipped with the judgment and discrimination which will enable them to weigh what they read and form their own opinions. Otherwise when thrown on their own resources they will be at the mercy of propaganda. It has been said that an educated man is one who can read a newspaper without being humbugged. That is very true and serves to emphasise the need for people not only to read but to read with discrimination. Equally important in view of the universality of wireless is learning to listen with discrimination.

Nothing is more important in the school than a good library. If New Zealand schools do not have good libraries then they cannot possibly do their work properly. This need is by no means fully met in England and I can only hope that in New Zealand it has already been recognised. Access to books is necessary in all education and I am quite convinced that until they become sufficiently numerous in schools the development of discrimination and taste in the fresh unspoiled mind of the child will be retarded. No matter what it costs in work or money there should be adequate library facilities in all schools.

SIR PERCY MEADON (England): *A Liberal Education*

The phrase 'a liberal education' goes back to the works of Plato and Aristotle and the word 'liberal' there refers rather to the type of character that is to be produced by it than to the curriculum or the method followed. Education that then seemed suitable to a free and leisurely life is what would have been meant by a liberal education. The things which free men would not be called upon to do were vulgar, servile or il-liberal, and a liberal education would be that sort of training and those subjects that a free-born Athenian

citizen would require to take his place in society and to carry out his duties as a free-born citizen. Liberal was then opposed to servile, and applied only to a limited class of privileged citizens.

Some seven centuries later we find the phrase 'the seven liberal arts.' They were the arts which are meant in the Middle Ages when we speak of the Bachelor and Master of Arts. The first three—grammar, dialectic, rhetoric—formed the Trivium, while the remainder—music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy—constituted the Quadrivium, and the seven formed the basis for study in the higher faculties of Theology, Law and Medicine. Latin, natural and moral philosophy and Latin-Greek, and sometimes Hebrew were added. A man who had been trained in these arts could set up as a teacher.

These were two ancient conceptions of education called liberal and it is interesting to observe their character and their relation to the life and conditions of the time. In both cases it is affected in its character by the current conditions of life. In the first case it is a training for a privileged and elect few who led a leisurely life and turned away from professionalism. In the second, it is mainly a preliminary training for professional scholars. Men's ideas of a liberal education were coloured by the social outlook of their day.

The great difference between those early days and the present day is due to the great increase in the mass of observed and established facts. As a result there has developed a class of specialists. Moreover, the general public now expects to have its share of knowledge, which is no longer to be in the hands of a few trained specialists while the great majority of men remain in ignorance. The specialist, too, will depend for a large part of his activities on general knowledge like other citizens who are not specialists. Knowledge is now broken up into separate compartments. Some know more of certain things than anyone ever did, but no one can grasp the whole as men once hoped to do.

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On the other hand all men are now called upon to take their part as citizens and to make decisions of importance to the community.

Aristotle's distinction between the free man and the slave had almost disappeared during the Middle Ages when a new distinction between the man-at-arms and the clerk had emerged. The idea of a liberally educated class living a life of leisure and served by others, who were illiberally trained for labour, has broken down. Comenius made clear the ideal to which the modern world responds—'all human beings should have a training in all that is proper to their common humanity.' Towards this ideal the world is slowly moving.

Now let us consider some more recent definitions of a liberal education. The most famous of all is, perhaps, Milton's: 'I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.' Milton would have us fix our thoughts on the fulfilment of a man's duties in life as the chief aim of a liberal education.

Huxley, the scientist, lucidly, though somewhat fastidiously, stated his conception in the following passage: 'That man has had a liberal education who has been so trained in his youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work which as a machine it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of great and fundamental truths of nature and of the laws of her operation. One, who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learnt to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate all vileness and to respect others as himself.'

Matthew Arnold defined it in terms that have become very well known: 'Culture is the study of perfection' or 'getting to

know oneself and the world.' For this knowledge 'it is necessary that a man should acquaint himself with the best that has been thought and said in the world.' In view, however, of the increased and increasing mass of knowledge, this would impose a great task upon the student. H. G. Wells has, however, helped us to appreciate the advantages of a wide view.

Nearly twenty years ago, when Sir Michael Sadler was in India as President of the Calcutta University Commission, his colleagues asked him to write a description of a liberal education. This is what he wrote: 'A liberal education should be given under conditions favourable to health. The body should be developed and trained by systematic and vigorous exercise. The eyes should be trained to see, the ears to hear, with quick and sure discrimination. The sense of beauty should be awakened. The hands should be trained to skilful use. The will should be kindled by an ideal and hardened by a discipline enjoining self-control. The pupil should learn to express himself accurately and simply in his mother tongue. Through mathematics he should learn the relations of forms and of numbers. Through history and literature he should learn something of the records of the past; what the human race (and not least his countrymen) have achieved; and how the great poets and sages have interpreted the experience of life. His education should further demand from him some study of nature and should set him in the way of realising both the amount and quality of evidence which a valid induction requires. Besides this it should open windows in his mind, so that he may see wide perspectives of history and of human thought. It should also, by the enforcement of accuracy and steady work, teach him by what toil and patience men have to make their way along the road to truth. Above all, a liberal education should endeavour to give, by such methods and influences as it is free to use, a sure hold upon the principles of right and wrong. It should arouse and enlighten the conscience. It should give experience in bearing responsibility,

on the reality of all the spiritual values that people had learned to cherish. Religion is represented as a stage humanity must outgrow and which it is indeed outgrowing. Religion is derided as being a disease born of fear and the source of untold misery to the human race. This sort of thing has been said before but there are many circles in Europe and the United States where it is considered to be the mark of a second-rate mind for a person to be a professed Christian. At the present time the spread of these ideas is being assisted by the general diffusion of education.

At the same time, among the vast labouring populations of the world the gospel of Marx with its teaching that economic values are alone real, has widely prevailed, and it has become almost a commonplace for working men to be taught that Christianity is a dope administered by the 'haves' to the 'have nots' to persuade them that, whatever is their lot in life, there is another world where wrongs shall be put right. The people of Russia have been persuaded to extirpate the Christian faith as far as that is possible, and it is not to be wondered at that this attack on religion has developed into a general attack on all morality and authority, and, in the western democracies, on the family and the institution of marriage. In spite of this nothing has been offered to the ordinary man and woman to take the place of that which is destroyed, except vague and vapid generalities about freedom, self-expression, and the like.

Owing to the domination of civilisation by machines there is going on a progressive degradation of human personality which people in New Zealand know little about. Large masses of human beings are herded together, and are too often not thought of as humans, doing work without interest, individuality or pride. They either acquiesce and sink below the true level of humanity, or become rebels against the social system, for which no one should blame them lightly. In Russia where that revolt has lead to the utter destruction of the old society, they have not found freedom but have become even

more slaves to the machine than are the workers in other countries.

The Great War, we are told, was redeemed by the fact that it was to end war and make the world safe for democracy, but the most marked characteristic of the post-war world has been the steady decline of the prestige of democracy. While the League of Nations has made possible more international co-operation than ever before, there has arisen beneath that a spirit of narrow nationalism, in which the State is offered as an object of devotion in the place of God. The League can do nothing at the present time because it is not casting out fear, and all this must inevitably end in war sooner or later. Once again will be enacted the tragedy of 1914.

Can you imagine any ordinary intelligent person acting in his own affairs in the way the nations of the world have acted in the past twenty years? There seems to be no means by which the collective common sense of the world can be mobilised and brought to bear. Things appear to have taken charge of men. That is the root of the crisis that confronts the world today.

What has Christianity to say in answer to this? Some of you may think my answer is unsatisfying, but I am confident that the teaching of our Lord was that there is one way and only one way—that is by making oneself better. Some say Christianity must stand on one side, but that is not my view. The influence of organised Christianity—that is of the Churches—is weak at the present time because of the attack from the outside during the past century as a result of mistakes it has made in its own affairs, so that there are many in the world today who accept neither its standards nor its values. It is weakened still further, and most seriously, by its divisions which make it impossible for it to speak with one voice.

Nevertheless I do not feel very anxious about the general attack on the Christian gospel. It seems to me to be quite unshaken, and the attacks fail because those who attack have nothing tolerable or hopeful to put in its place. Their theories

end in unhappiness and disaster. I think the criticism of the present time will be regarded by the coming generation as an outworn fashion, and I believe we shall see strong and steady renewal of faith in the future. One of the proofs is that in England today honest and able men are offering themselves in larger numbers for the service of the Church. With regard to the divisions I feel less hopeful. Nevertheless the world moves quickly and the outlook of man changes rapidly, and if the Christian Church can in all countries mobilise the conscience, goodwill and good sense of the peoples the world might be changed very quickly. Statesmen will have to take the voice of Christianity into serious account in a way they do not at present.

The only practical advice I can offer is that in the face of the world crisis all Christians should strive to be better and more consistent Christians than they have been, to work steadily for re-union and to direct their acts as citizens by their Christian conscience, not divorcing their religion from the other worlds in which they move. Possibly from an individual point of view the result of this would be small but its cumulative effect would, if loyally tried, be very great.

It is commonly admitted that war is folly, and that it is possible for it to lead to the destruction of civilisation, but fear and distrust prevent the nations from moving forward towards peace. The way of the world as at present must end in ruin. The League, incomplete as it is, offers the only hope. It is for Christian men and women to support it. The one way is Christian; the other un-Christian. The dominance of the machine is bringing its own cure in the promise of shorter working hours, and steps should be taken to educate deliberately for this new leisure and for the freedom it can bring. The task of building a fellowship among the peoples of the world will be a long and difficult one, but it can be done by the way of Christianity and the inspiration of religion.

England in the past century has provided an example of a better feeling growing up between class and class and the

inspiring force has been Christianity. In fact, there has never been more Christianity than at the present time. And when one considers Christianity and the world crisis one cannot but think of the special call that comes to the churches of the English-speaking races, and the special responsibility that falls on the British Empire. In England there is a national church which has preserved its catholicity and is so placed that it can be a rallying point. Religiously it was the chief teacher and inspirer of the people as was the great Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the common British stock has perhaps more than any other the capacity for making changes.

We are moving haltingly towards a new order and a new age, and if that age is ever to become real it must be inspired through and through by Christianity. It must be prepared for by a new education. That is the gospel Christians must preach, and that is the gospel our statesmen must seek to practise, pressing ever forward towards these ideals. With all our perplexities these words enshrine the living truth: 'Other foundation cannot man lay save that which is laid in Jesus Christ.'

In the course of an address delivered at Wellington College DR. NORWOOD said:

I would ask you to base your education on religion. Do not misunderstand me. Religion will not come as a foundation merely because you give so many minutes a day to reading or teaching the Bible, or holding a service. This may help, but you will understand me when I repeat that a good school is not only a place of learning but a way of life. Is your horizon to be only our present existence? Are you to assume that the only things of real value are material? Or will you not be content unless you turn out boys and girls who understand what is meant when it is said that a man may gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or when it is said that the spirit quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing? If that be so, there will issue naturally from your school life the pursuit of

truth, of beauty, and of goodness, which are values absolute and eternal. That knowledge will issue from what is done, and not from what is said, from the life which is lived and not from the lesson that is formally taught. Religion is caught, and not taught: the flame passes from a life to a life. If you can get that spirit into your schools, you will build on the surest foundation of all, a foundation which, if it becomes general, will not only make real democracy possible, but will enable mankind to move at a level of existence higher than any which has yet been attained.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Religious Education in the Schools*

Four main questions arise regarding religious education in the schools:

1. *Can religion be taught at all?* Of course it can. It is foolish to say ‘religion must be “caught” not “taught”.’ The intention of those who put the matter thus is to stress the fact that there must be a basis of personal experience of the kind that only comes in a favourable social environment. That is obvious: mere instruction without a background of experience is empty and worthless. That is true about all the fine things of life. It needs to be added that in religion and morality experience can and should be lifted to a higher level by the guidance and clarification of what life brings to the young.

2. *Should religion be taught in schools?* To that question there is no one answer. It depends on national tradition and belief. The people of the United States for reasons good to themselves have avoided conflict among themselves by leaving the teaching of religion to home and church, as their citizens think good.

The people of Scotland with a more homogeneous population have made religious instruction universal in their schools and granted minorities like the Catholics the same privileges in this respect as the Presbyterian majority enjoy. The point to be stressed is that in democratic countries whatever is done must have behind it the goodwill of the majority of the people. If the homes of the people are irreligious, no school teaching will make the children religious. If the teachers, reflecting as they do the life of the community at large, are not interested in religion, the schools cannot be made religious in influence by Act of Parliament or by decision of an Education Board. Religious education, to be of any real value, must be carried through with the active goodwill of the teaching profession. Better no instruction than instruction by unwilling agents.

3. *What contribution can the school make to religious education?* By its very constitution, a different contribution from that of the home, a different contribution from that of the church. With the different atmosphere worship can only be a minor factor and creeds must be ruled out because the community at large is made up of people of different creeds. What remains for the school? There are three things possible. It may create a sympathetic attitude to the work of the churches and of all institutions making for public well-being. It may dwell on the cultural aspects of religion as one of the most important factors in the making and development of civilisation, notably by teaching the Bible as a great literature with a permanent inspiring power. It may emphasise those moral principles rooted in religion on which all good people are in agreement.

4. *Who should teach religion in schools?* So far as possible the teachers who are teaching the other matters of school concern. To bring in ministers by the Nelson system, or the Australian system, is a confession of failure on the part of the churches. They have obviously failed to give the teachers sufficient interest and sufficient knowledge to enable them to

teach religion from within the school life. There is no reason to think that if the matter were left in the hands of the schools and respect paid to the wishes of the individual teachers as to whether they should or should not take part in religious exercises without prejudice to promotion, the schools could not do the job and do it well. Outsiders never will.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS OF ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Dr. I. L. KANDEL (U.S.A.): *Administration and Organisation*

THE traditional system of education has grown up without plan or organisation—first secondary and higher education, then elementary followed by infants' schools and kindergartens, and later technical and vocational schools. Not only were these types of schools independent of one another, but they were often administered and supervised by separate authorities. Furthermore, each type of school had a distinctive social and educational connotation.

The movement for providing equality of educational opportunities, the recognition that the period of education must be extended, and the contribution from psychology on the necessity of adapting education to the abilities of pupils have already had the effect of leading to the co-ordination of administrative authorities to organise and supervise unified and articulated systems of educational facilities.

The problem of organisation is somewhat more difficult than that of administration. It involves a consideration of the age of differentiation, the provision of different types of curricula in the same or separate schools, and the nature of the programmes of study. The one consideration that is especially important is the meaning to be given to the term

'differentiation'—whether it should be applied to the curriculum with the danger of early specialisation or to methods of instruction so that each pupil can have the advantage of a common general education adapted to his abilities and aptitudes.

Answers to the questions of administration and organisation cannot be supplied until the concept of control is clarified. The traditional practice of administration has been to control everything from the central authority. The chief function of a central or other administrative authority should be to provide those conditions under which teachers, well prepared, can enjoy their freedom as members of a profession to adapt education to the abilities and aptitudes of the pupils and to build it upon the environments in which they live. The action of administrative authority should be to control those essentials of a system that make for a sound process of education and beyond that to act by way of suggestion and advice.

SIR PERCY MEADON (England): *The Administration of Education in England*

Educational administration has rightly been stated to be one of those subsidiary services which are in themselves without value except in so far as they secure the success of their object. Learning and teaching are the most important acts of education, and the duty of the administrator is to remove hindrances from the path of the teacher and to place him in a favourable position to practise his art with the utmost scope for initiative and individuality. The central problem of administration is the provision and equitable distribution of education consistent with the needs of society and adapted to the aptitudes of the individuals to be educated. The object of

educational administration should, therefore, be to 'enable the right pupils to receive the right education from the right teachers, at a cost within the means of the State, under conditions which will enable the pupils best to profit by their training.'

The development of such an educational system in a democratic country is not a simple matter. In countries where the aim is to prepare the child for complete absorption in and subservience to the corporate State and where the liberal idea of free individual development has therefore been abandoned, the concentration on this single aim greatly simplifies the work of educational construction. Our system of education, on the other hand, stresses the rights and possibilities of the individual and so has to adjust itself to many differing demands, including not only those of the State but also those of the individual pupil, of the community, of the parent, and of industry. These demands, too, are not quite the same today as they were yesterday, and will not remain constant. The valuable asset to be assured is free experimentation or adaptation to local needs in order to obtain rich variety of character and full development of personality, or as Sir Michael Sadler has expressed it, 'variety set in a framework of national organisation.'

The theory underlying the administration of education in England was stated by John Stuart Mill in his essay *On Liberty*:

'That the whole or any large part of the education of the people should be in State hands, I go as far as anyone in deprecating. All that has been said of the importance of individuality of character, and diversity of opinions and modes of conduct, involves, as of the same unspeakable importance, diversity of education. A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another, and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government, whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or

the majority of the existing generation, in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body. An education established and controlled by the State should only exist, if it exists at all, as one among competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus to keep others up to a certain standard of excellence.'

In England, therefore, state control is now exercised through the annual grant which is distributed by the central Board of Education under conditions which it prescribes to ensure the attainment of general standards. The relative positions of the central and the local authorities for education are now very different from what they were last century. The Act of 1870 was very regulative and the powers, duties and procedure of the school boards were laid down in considerable detail while the control of the central authority was secured by means of the Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools. This Code is now much less detailed than it was, and its 130 articles with sub-sections have been reduced to about two dozen, with a view to giving the local authorities wider discretion. The local authorities now have full power to supply or aid the supply of higher and elementary education as they think best after considering the needs of their areas and consulting the Board of Education. Through the grant the State can define standards for premises and equipment, qualifications and remuneration of teachers, the school medical service and the efficient co-ordination of the system. It does not prescribe courses of study, and the Introduction to the *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* which is published by the Board contains the following important paragraph:

'The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desire to see in the teaching of Public Elementary Schools is that each teacher shall think for himself, and work out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school. Uniformity in

details of practice (except in the mere routine of school management) is not desirable even if it were attainable. But freedom implies a corresponding responsibility in its use.'

The relation of the State to education in England is thus characterised by flexibility, stimulus, advice, consultation and financial encouragement and reward. Gradually a system of partnership has been developed between the central and the local bodies and local surveys and planning have been fostered by the requirement that schemes of development should be submitted by the local authorities. The procedure adopted for the submission of these educational schemes to the Board of Education is an example of the opposition to central control. The Education Bill of 1917 provided that the Board of Education might refuse to approve such schemes when submitted by local authorities. In the Act which was passed in the following year, this power of rejection was dropped and provision made that the Board might either approve a scheme or if not satisfied with it must invite the local authority to discuss it in conference. In cases of disagreement the report of the proceedings must be laid before Parliament. So successful, however, has been the method of conference between the two bodies that no case has yet been reported to Parliament.

The gradual development of this system in England has followed the line of avoidance of the disadvantages which follow from either a wholly centralised or decentralised system of administration. Centralisation has some advantages, particularly in the case of a young country in which there is a number of different nationalities and ideals which need to be welded into a homogeneous whole. Under a centralised system duplication can more readily be avoided and overhead expenses be kept reasonably low; it is perhaps easier to secure a more uniform standard over the whole area; schools can more readily be placed in thinly populated districts which are so remote that it is difficult for a local authority to function there; generally the teachers have greater security of tenure and of salary standards. On the other hand, such a system

tends to bureaucracy in education and to the stifling of individual and local initiative. There is a loss of local interest and application and a tendency to leave matters to the State and its officers; it is easier for the State to use schools for purposes of propaganda; standardised curricula often are required and generally result in undesirable uniformity. It is significant that few educational experiments have come from countries which have for some time had centralised administrative systems. Sir Robert Morant, one of our ablest administrators and for some years Secretary to the central Board of Education in England, once said that the limit of useful state control is to be found at the point where it ceases to be an expanding and stimulating force and tends to fetter or sterilise.

Whatever system is adopted, it is essential that it should give freedom to the teacher in every type of school and be based on trust and confidence between teacher and administrator. For effective functioning it is essential that the administrative and the teaching services in an administrative area should have a common outlook and have the desire to work together in the best interests of the pupils. The aim of the administrator should be to weave related units into a harmonious system. The inspector should be a friendly adviser, welcomed by the teachers and carrying from school to school the best ideas. Valuable results have followed from the short courses, either week-end courses or vacation courses extending over two weeks, arranged for teachers by the Board of Education and conducted by the Board's inspectors of schools.

The educational system should certainly be a unified one, so that the one education authority is in effective control of primary, secondary, technical, and adult education, and responsible for their progressive and co-ordinated development throughout all parts of the area. And the chief officer of the authority, whether central or local, should be an educationist with high ideals and full knowledge of the various types of schools, their needs and difficulties.

MR. E. SALTER DAVIES, C.B.E., M.A. (England): *The Administration of Public Education in England*

Of all public services the two which affect the community most extensively and most directly are those of health and education. These are intimately connected with each other, for an agreement was come to a few years ago by which the health services in the schools are administered through the education authorities. We all have been to school, and some of us still go there when an opportunity is given. If we have children we send them to school. Later on, they attend day or evening classes, or go to some place of higher education, and, even when they have completed the stage of formal education, there are still a number of educational agencies at work whose object it is to continue and broaden that education the foundations of which have been laid in the day school. It is, therefore, the duty of every citizen to know something about the system of public education in his own country, and the powers and duties of the various educational bodies which that system includes.

According to the latest statistics of public education for England and Wales, there are over 6,000,000 pupils in our state-aided elementary and secondary schools. Of these five and a half millions are on the registers of public elementary schools. In England and Wales there are 316 local education authorities. Sixty-three of these are counties (including London), 83 are county boroughs, and the remainder, 170, are what are commonly known by the barbaric term of 'Part III Authorities.' This term takes its origin from the Education Act of 1902, part II of which was concerned with higher education and part III with elementary education. The part III authorities, representing generally the smaller towns and urban districts, are autonomous for elementary education, whereas for higher education all areas, with the exception of

county boroughs, are subject to the jurisdiction of the county. The county boroughs are autonomous both for elementary and for higher education. The counties are responsible for higher education for the whole of the administrative area, excluding the county boroughs, and for elementary education for that part of the administrative county which is outside the areas administered by the county boroughs and by the part III authorities.

I may illustrate this by reference to my own county of Kent, with one and a quarter million inhabitants spread over nearly one million acres. In Kent there is one county borough—one of the smallest in the country, the City of Canterbury—with a total population at the last census of 23,000 inhabitants. That so small a town should be autonomous both for elementary and for higher education is an anomaly due, no doubt, to Canterbury's privileged position in ecclesiastical affairs. There are in the county sixteen part III authorities—towns varying in population from 10,000 to over 60,000. The county education committee is responsible for higher education for the whole of the administrative county, with the exception of Canterbury, and for the administration of elementary education in the area outside Canterbury and those towns administered by the sixteen part III authorities.

So long as there was a clear line of demarcation between elementary and secondary education there was, perhaps, some justification for such a division of authority. The reorganisation of elementary schools involving the development of central or modern schools, which offer what is, in effect, a new type of secondary education for children between the ages of 11 and 16, has completely altered the situation. It is becoming obvious—indeed, it has already become obvious—that the harmonious development of a properly graded and duly interrelated system of secondary education for all demands the elimination of the part III authorities, as such. Vested interests are, however, powerful, and there would be strong parliamentary opposition to such a proposal.

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Eventually, however, we may assume that the part III authorities will disappear and that the country will be divided into counties and county boroughs, each responsible for the administration of the whole of education within its area.

There are two other anomalies which further complicate the work of the education authorities. The most important of these is what is known as the 'dual system.' Elementary schools in England are divided into two types, those provided by the local education authority in which no formulary distinctive of any particular religious denomination may be taught, and those provided by religious bodies—the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England, and certain nonconformist bodies. Schools of the first type are known as council or provided schools. These accommodate about two-thirds of the elementary school population. The remaining one-third attend voluntary or non-provided schools. The local education authority, therefore, has not a free hand in rearranging its elementary schools. It has to have regard to the non-provided schools, and it has no power to compel the managers of such schools to send the senior children to a central school.

The second anomaly is one of less importance. It is the existence of endowed secondary schools, controlled by their own boards of governors. Such a school, if its endowment is sufficiently large, is in a position of practical independence. The great majority of such schools, however, have comparatively small endowments, and are dependent for their very existence upon assistance from the local education authority. The local education authority, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, can make its own terms for the payment of grants-in-aid, and, in this way, can exercise whatever measure of control over them it regards as desirable.

The part II local education authority is responsible, not only for the support and development of elementary schools

and secondary schools in its area, but also for the support and development of technical or further education. In most towns of any size there is a local technical institute in which there are evening classes in technical, art and commercial subjects, economics, history, modern languages, and so forth. In the large towns there are often, in addition, part-time day classes attended by apprentices and others from local industrial and commercial firms. There are also in the country a certain number of full-time day schools and classes in art, commerce and technology. The junior technical school is a special type of post-primary or secondary school, taking boys and sometimes girls from the ages of 12 or 13 to 15 or 16. It differs from the ordinary type of secondary school in devoting special attention to the needs of industry.

In London and some of the large cities there are, in addition, trade schools wholly devoted to the needs of one particular industry—engineering, cabinet-making, domestic subjects, and so forth. The counties have, in addition, to provide, either as part of the work of further education or as a separate department, classes and lectures in agricultural subjects for the needs of the rural areas. In my own county the Agricultural College at Wye is largely supported by the education authorities of the Home Counties. The Kent Education Committee also maintains a residential Farm Institute which provides practical and theoretical instruction for young agricultural workers. The Committee also assists the Horticultural College for Women at Swanley.

There is, as a rule, close association between the county or county borough authority and the local university. The University of London and the provincial universities derive from 10 to over 20 per cent of their income from grants from local authorities.

All the authorities have health services for maintaining and improving the health of scholars attending the various schools in their areas. In the counties, the County Medical Officer is, as a rule, also the School Medical Officer. The

County Medical Officer and his staff are responsible to the education authority for the health work in the schools. The education authorities, moreover, are responsible for providing for the needs of physical and mental defectives. Those who cannot be dealt with on the spot are sent to residential schools where they can receive the necessary care and treatment.

Linked to these major services are various duties and minor services which all county and county borough education authorities are required to undertake. One of these duties is to train its quota of teachers each year, and also to see that acting teachers have adequate facilities by means of summer and week-end schools, refresher courses, special courses of lectures, etc., for keeping up-to-date in methods of teaching and in their knowledge of pedagogical subjects.

The law requires local education authorities to make adequate provision so as 'to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting through inability to pay fees.' The fulfilment of this enactment places much work on the education committees by way of schemes for the award of scholarships and exhibitions tenable at various types of institutions, including evening classes, day technical and art schools, secondary schools and the universities. Among many other duties for which the local education authority is responsible are the enforcement of school attendance and of the by-laws regulating employment and street-trading, the welfare of children and young persons (including delinquents), the provision of school canteens, milk clubs, the feeding of necessitous children, the conveyance of children to schools where distances are unreasonable, investigating and dealing with accidents to staff and to pupils, the selection of sites, the planning and building of new schools, the general upkeep of schools, including all internal requirements such as books, stationery, apparatus, cleaning, heating and lighting. All these, and hosts of other duties, fall within the sphere of the education authority.

In the course of his work many knotty problems will arise which will demand all an education officer's wisdom, tact and patience, e.g., 'difficult' parents, managers and teachers, official correspondents and others who will not answer letters, parents who simply *cannot* understand why their children must attend school until the statutory age and, perhaps, worst of all, staffing incompatibilities.

The activities of the local education authorities are generally controlled by the Board of Education, which for the purpose is organised in three departments—elementary, secondary and technical. The Board, also, is responsible for the agricultural education of boys and girls up to the age of 16. For the later stages of agricultural education, the Board of Agriculture is responsible. The Ministry of Labour controls the activities of the local education authorities in regard to unemployed persons, though the officers of the Board of Education also inspect the junior instruction centres for the unemployed. The Ministry of Health is generally responsible for the health service, though, so far as the schools are concerned, it works through the Board of Education. The Ministry of Health is responsible also for approving the raising of loans for educational purposes.

The relation of the Board of Education to the local education authority is one of considerable delicacy. The Board of Education is much too wise to challenge the cherished autonomy of the local education authority. Nevertheless the Board exercises considerable influence over it and, through it, over the schools, through its general restrictions and through instructions issued in circulars. It exercises considerable influence over curricula and teaching methods through its inspectors, through the power to regulate certain forms of expenditure and the possible withholding of grants. The threat of withholding of grants is very rarely made, and is enforced only when, after repeated representations, the quality of the service remains below the minimum standard which the Board attempts to exact. The attitude of the Board of

Education towards the schools is shown by the fact that there is now no Code of Regulations prescribing the subjects of instruction.

I do not pretend to have covered the whole field of educational administration, but I have said enough to indicate the variety of that field. You will have gathered, perhaps, that an education officer must have the capacity for dealing simultaneously with a multiplicity of problems. He cannot deal with one thing at a time. He constantly has to turn from one question to another. His position is rather like that of the conjurer who has to keep a dozen or more balls in the air at one time—only the conjurer is, at least, free from continual interruptions which prevent the administrator from concentrating upon the business immediately in hand.

The responsibilities of the education authority are constantly increasing. During the thirty-two years during which I have been associated with educational administration, hardly a year has passed in which there has not been passed at least one act of Parliament which has thrown additional duties upon the local education authority. Of such measures, the two latest are the Children and Young Persons Act, which gives the local education authority an important function in controlling the employment of young persons and in giving them care and protection, particularly in regard to criminal proceedings; and the Unemployment Act, 1934, which throws upon the education authorities in the counties and boroughs the responsibility for providing junior instruction centres for boys and girls unemployed.

The work of the education official is full of interest and variety. He must, first of all, have a very thorough grasp of the details of the system which he is administering, and must be familiar with the various regulations, acts of Parliament, and so forth, with which he has to deal. If he is wise he will keep his hand on the pulse of public opinion in his area. However idealistic may be his views he must realise that he cannot move in advance (or at least far in advance) of public

opinion, and he must win and retain the confidence of his committee. Another important attribute is financial sense. The education officer's work at various times in the year has to be translated into terms of pounds, shillings and pence, and woe to the misguided enthusiast who at the end of the year is found to have overspent the total of his approved estimates. In particular, it behoves him to keep a watchful eye on the cost of administration. Nothing seems to excite unfavourable criticism more than any suspicion of overstaffing or of extravagance in the authority's head office.

Administrative arrangements differ greatly from area to area. In my own county, the chief committees are as follow: secondary and university; further education and juvenile employment; elementary; finance and general purposes; sites and buildings; agriculture; library. In the counties the county education authority is also the library authority, whereas in the boroughs and urban districts there is a separate library committee which is independent of the education committee.

The structure of the office follows generally the division of committee work, each separate department, as a rule, having its own head, who acts as clerk to his own sub-committee. Most of the larger counties and county boroughs have an inspectorial staff who work in conjunction with the inspectors of the Board of Education.

The first of the daily duties is to attend to correspondence. My daily incoming post contains on the average about 1500 separate communications. The letters are opened in the general office and distributed to the appropriate sections; those of first-class importance passing first through the Director's hands. The routine of office work is occasionally enlivened by scraps of humour. Some little time ago I had a letter informing me that the managers of a certain school 'are unanimously of opinion that the teacher wants a bath.' Another letter informed me that the overflow from the cesspool at such and such a school 'came up at the managers'

meeting last night.' An indignant parent wrote: 'Dear Sir, I understand that you have had an anonymous letter about my daughter. Will you tell me at once the name of the writer?' A letter was once brought to me for signature by an official who is no longer in the employment of the Kent Education Committee. It ran like this: 'Dear Madam, I regret to inform you that your daughter is not eligible for such and such a scholarship, because she was not born according to the regulations of the Kent Education Committee before the 1st August, 19—.' I said: 'I am afraid this won't do.' The official read the letter again, and said: 'Why not, Sir?' I said: 'Well, look at it.' He read it again, and said: 'I don't see anything wrong with this, Sir.' I said: 'Look—"because she was not born according to the regulations of the Kent Education Committee."'" Well, Sir,' he said, 'she was not.' These are oases in the desert.

A considerable proportion of the responsible official's time will be occupied in interviewing governors, managers, parents, teachers, and other people, and in attending conferences and meetings, both in his own area and outside, and in visiting schools.

The administrative staff of an education office is divided into two sections: the clerical staff, whose duties are more or less of a routine nature, and the directive staff, including the chief officer, the heads of the various departments and, in the case of a large authority, the inspectors. There is no hard and fast line between the two sections, and promotion from the clerical to the administrative staff is always possible. At the same time, it is generally realised that for those officers who will be exercising direct control over the schools teaching experience is desirable, if not essential. Some way, therefore, must be found to provide an entrance into the administrative service for men or women of good academic qualifications and successful teaching experience.

It has, for some time, been apparent that the areas into which this country is divided for administrative purposes need

considerable adjustment to make them adequate to the increasing complexities of local government. 'It is impossible,' says Mr. Robson, writing on *The Development of Local Government*, 'to survey the facts of local government as they exist today without becoming convinced that there is a great multitude of minor authorities covering areas so inadequate, possessing such small populations, and with so limited financial resources, that, with the best will in the world, they have neither the capacity nor the means to exercise in a satisfactory manner the powers which have been conferred on them by Parliament.' 'It would,' he adds, 'be quite incorrect to suggest that they have invariably, or even usually, the best will in the world'

It is true that some small attempts at improvement have been made as a result of the passing of the Local Government Act of 1929, but something more radical than tinkering of this sort is needed. As Mr. G. D. H. Cole said, when writing in that year, on *The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy*: 'The plain truth is that no detailed straightening out of the present areas of local administration will go far towards solving the problem. The entire economic and social situation has been radically changed in the past generation; and the areas which were suitable enough in 1835 and 1888 are in many ways grotesquely inappropriate today. . . . Even though local councillors were able to combine within their persons the wisdom of a Solon, the inventiveness of a Bentham, and the administrative capacity of a Chadwick, it would still be impossible in most cases for them to accomplish anything of importance without drastic change in the present division of areas and the existing distribution of resources. The shortcomings of the small areas are due to inherent defects in the municipal structure itself.'

In such matters as transport, drainage, water supply, etc., the need for some administrative unit wider than any county authority is already generally realized. In education, the continued existence of two sets of administrative authorities

—one concerned only with elementary education—has become a grave obstacle to the orderly and progressive development of our educational system. In one country area there are no less than 44 urban authorities, 17 of which, as county boroughs, are responsible for both elementary and higher education, while the other 27, as part III authorities, are wholly responsible for elementary education within their borders. The reorganisation of elementary education, involving as it does the establishment of central or modern schools, which are a new type of secondary or post-primary education, makes it impossible that this state of things shall continue. It is an obvious absurdity that secondary schools should be under the management of one type of education authority and central schools under another.

'Will it be possible,' the Hadow Report asks, 'for the country to acquiesce permanently in the division of part of the secondary grade of education between two separate authorities in the same area, with the result that an authority for elementary education only may start a modern school or senior class when neighbouring "secondary" schools, under the administration of the authority for higher education, are not fully used?'

'It is almost impossible,' says Mr. Robson, 'for anyone to survey with an open mind the present state of affairs in education, public health and the other services . . . without being impressed by the chaotic and wasteful design of the structure, and the inefficient and uneconomical results which obtain from its operation. Nowhere are the defects more self-evident than in the field of education; nowhere are the evils of a badly administered service more far-reaching in their consequence, longer in duration, or more difficult to eradicate.'

The Commission on Local Government has already advised that, in future, no town of less than 75,000 inhabitants shall be given educational powers, and one wise recommendation in the Report of the Economic Committee

was that the educational powers of the part III authorities should be transferred to counties and county boroughs. Such a proceeding would be in accordance with the trend of recent legislation. The Local Government Act of 1929 transferred the functions of boards of guardians to the county and county borough councils. This means the replacement of over 600 statutory bodies by less than 150. As Mr. Robson points out: 'A similar tendency is revealed in much of the legislation affecting municipal affairs which has been passed during the last twenty or thirty years. By the substitution of the county councils as education authorities for much of the country in place of the great number of school boards previously existing, the Education Act of 1902 took a definite step towards the inception of larger and fewer authorities, particularly in the rural districts. A like movement in the direction of larger units was shown in 1911, when the National Health Insurance scheme named the counties and county boroughs as areas for certain aspects of local administration; in 1913, when mental deficiency was placed in the hands of the councils of these same areas; and in 1918 when the councils of counties and county boroughs were chosen as local authorities for the supervision of midwives. In the next year the Public Libraries Act of 1919 followed suit by enabling county councils for the first time to adopt the Public Libraries Act, thus bringing within ultimate reach of library provision 91 boroughs, 550 urban districts and more than 12,000 parishes which had not previously felt able to undertake on their own account the provision of a library service. By that Act 91 boroughs, 550 urban districts and 12,000 parishes were brought within the ambit of the county councils. The Rating and Valuation Act of 1925 abolished the overseers of the poor and transferred the assessment and collection of local rates to the general local authorities, thereby greatly enlarging the unit of administration. A great number of other instances could be cited to illustrate the irresistible drift towards larger authorities.'

The transference of power from smaller local bodies to a central authority is likely to be resisted at first and to cause a certain amount of friction. Such transference, however, appears to be inevitable, and to be, generally, in the interests of good government. Whatever figure of population be fixed as the necessary minimum for the exercise of county borough powers, it seems probable that, ultimately, the education services, including that of public libraries, will be administered by the counties and by the county boroughs. For certain purposes, however, the area of the county and of the county borough is itself too small. The late Lord Haldane advocated the institution of provinces for educational purposes. As Mr. Cole says: 'The present local government areas are too small in most cases to serve as effective units for the provision or regulation of power or transport, for housing or the planning of urban development, for the relief of distress, for the provision of effective services in public health and education, and, finally, for the raising of the money required to pay for all these things.' Some sort of regional authority covering an area considerably larger than that of most counties must be worked out. This, of course, does not mean that the region will or should supersede the existing areas. These will remain in being, subject to some adjustments, and will find plenty of work to do within their appropriate spheres, just as the metropolitan borough councils find plenty to do though their areas are included in the larger area of the London County Council. The need is not for the transference of all local government functions to bodies covering a larger area, but for the establishment of the 'region' as an area which can be made the unit for certain services specially requiring development on a large scale.

Something can be done in this direction on a voluntary basis, as has been shown in the sphere of library development by the regional schemes which have been inaugurated in the northern counties, in the West Midlands, in Wales and elsewhere. For the purposes of local government generally,

however, the statutory recognition of the regional unit would seem to be desirable.

This process of centralisation, no doubt, has its dangers. But as Mr. Robson points out: 'To enlarge the areas of municipal administration is not to destroy the roots of local government. Indeed, it might with greater truth be said that the most effective way of sapping the energy of local government would be to permit the chaos and inefficiency resulting from the present structure to continue. One of the most cogent reasons for requiring larger and more appropriate units of local administration is that the present muddle produces a strong tendency to centralization.'

Mr. Harold Laski, in his inaugural address at the Summer School of the National Association of Local Government Officers, said that he thought it not unlikely that in the next generation local government might break down and give place to a centralized system at Whitehall. 'That would be fatal to English national life and all that they desired English constitutional habits to be.' It is significant that the vitally important matter of electrical generation has been taken out of the hands of the municipal bodies and entrusted to the central Electricity Board. Unless the smaller units of local government are replaced by larger units, it would appear to be inevitable that many of the functions now performed by local bodies will be absorbed by the central government. The enlargement of the areas of local government does not involve the extinction of the interest of the smaller towns and the villages. Such a result would be as unnecessary as it would be deplorable. Experience shows conclusively that satisfactory results in the sphere of local government can be obtained only where there is sufficient centralization to ensure a reasonable amount of uniformity and elimination of waste, and sufficient devolution to smaller local bodies to stimulate and maintain the interest of those removed from the seat of government. The supreme problem of local government is

to achieve the golden mean between over-centralization and excessive decentralization. The former may lead to a soulless uniformity and to a lack of interest on the part of those most affected, while the latter, at its worst, leads to chaos.

DR. F. W. HART (U.S.A.): *Creative Administration*

Mike Malone, at the same job for forty years! Mike had been a wheel-tapper for a railroad company, and when he retired he was given a banquet and presented with a gold watch, a service badge, and a silver hammer embossed on a car wheel. Mike responded and expressed his profound appreciation of all that had been done in his honour, and then said: 'There is one thing I would like to know now that I've retired: what in hell did you have me tapping those wheels for?'

The story is certainly humorous. But I should like to ask you as teachers if you know why you do some of the things you have to do. The ideal of school administration is to make things run smoothly, but teachers sometimes find themselves overwhelmed by all the demands that administrators make upon them. Indeed, they must sometimes wonder if administrators are worth the salary they receive over and above that of teachers. I believe, however, that a really good administrator is well worth his salary. And I propose to deal with seven abilities which in my view are essential to creative administration.

The first is the ability to recognise the especially worth-while things that are taking place in the school system. This is one ability essential to leadership and there is no greater driving force in life than the desire for recognition of services given. The school director should be able to visit his schools

and recognise ability no matter where he finds it. Having found it he should be able to make use of it.

Ability number two is the ability to organise the school system so that the especially worth-while things discovered are spread throughout the whole system. This is difficult, because if a young teacher discovers some new method it is no easy thing tactfully to pass it on to older and more experienced teachers. However, it can be done by the successful administrator for he will provide avenues by which worth-while things can be brought to others.

The third ability is the ability to overcome the inefficiencies of others without losing their goodwill. The administrator needs an understanding heart, humanity, firmness, and the ability to blow strong or soft in his criticism as the circumstances may demand.

The fourth ability is the ability to set goals that are within the reach of the individual. The creative administrator must be able to tempt the individual teacher to effort and to go on tempting him still further onwards. He has to do more than chase the right man; he has to know what is needed and to know how to help his discoveries to do their best.

The fifth ability is that of making everyone in the school system feel the worthwhileness of his job. If an individual does not feel that his job is worth while, then it will not be well done. In my own country, the United States, it is unfortunate that the teachers of little children have been discriminated against in salary and in social position. The secondary teachers are paid more and treated better, as if there is any fundamental difference in the value of their work. If there should be any difference it is the teacher of the little children who should be treated the better. The secondary school child can survive a bad teacher, but if the child is started badly he will never make up for what has been lost. Every teacher should be made to realise that his job is worth while, and the day will come when every teacher will be paid according to the work he is doing, whether he is in a primary

or in a secondary school. Already in America more than 160 school systems have adopted the single-salary schedule.

The sixth ability is that of making everyone in the system grow professionally and grow in service to society. If teachers are successful bigger fields should be opened to them.

The seventh ability is the ability to make those who work for or with the administrator personally happy. No one can be successful unless he is happy, and there are many ways in which the administrative head can make his workers happy—little human touches which will lead to loyalty, devotion and a sense of working for a common end.

If the machinery of administration is allowed to kill creative ability, and to drive out the understanding heart, then the greatest opportunity available to teachers is lost and the trust of the children is betrayed.

DR. F. W. HART (U.S.A.): *Educational Trends in the United States of America*

In the United States there are really as many systems of education as there are local bodies governing it. The State, however, is the guide and mentor of the smaller units. Though there are forty-eight different states in the Union and therefore as many major schemes of education, the advantages of such decentralisation are obvious: nationalist propaganda can be put into operation only with difficulty, the school can adjust itself relatively easily to varying social needs, and each area can forge ahead at its own natural pace.

The present trend is towards greater responsibility and control on the part of the State. The State makes regulations for the issue of teachers' certificates; issues a list of approved elementary school text-books; and acts in the main as an

advisory body to the smaller units of the system. 'Equality of educational opportunity for all' is a popular slogan in the United States; but equality of opportunity is a myth in any small district that is economically poor. As a result of the realisation of this disadvantage of excessive decentralisation, the tendency is for taxation to be levied over larger and larger units of population. California, for instance, has the absurd number of 3,000 local boards for education with over 10,000 trustees. This system of excessive decentralisation is just as objectionable as the excessive centralisation which exists, for example, in New Zealand. There should be struck a happy balance between the two.

The people as a whole are afraid that if financial aid is sought the education system will fall into the hands of the Federal Government. This is felt to be a danger particularly in the case of the poorer states; for it has to be remembered that the richest state has seven times the financial resources of the most backward. Hence there is the tendency to resist the interference of higher authorities, the battle-cry being the somewhat humorous statement that 'the one-roomed school is the last stand of democracy.' For the people have a firm faith in the value of education and are reluctant to surrender their control of policy. 'We created the school; we need it; we pay for it; the school concerns us most vitally'—that is the attitude of the people of the United States of America.

As far as organisation is concerned, the tendency is to extend the system downwards into the nursery stage and upwards to the adult level. There is a growing realisation of the importance of nursery schools for the child of three and four. Then, at the other end of the scale, there is the junior college movement which made itself felt after the Great War and which has gained force since the beginning of the 1929 depression. These junior colleges take pupils at 17 and 18, at the end of the high school course, and carry them on to the ages of 20 and 21, although those not intending to go to the university may stay longer. They offer courses in such subjects

as agriculture, engineering and pharmacy as well as preliminary courses for those who intend to proceed to academic degrees at the university; but, in addition to vocational preparation, these institutions have the highly important function of helping to create the social intelligence so badly needed in a democracy.

For my part, I believe that every boy and girl should be a charge on the State until the age of 21, or until such time as society has provided an opportunity for employment. It is merely a dangerous waste of human material to throw out into the streets at 16 boys and girls with no legitimate occupations. In this respect the Civilian Conservation Camps have proved a great success; indeed they have come to stay as a permanent feature of the general education system. The idea that education is a disqualification for manual labour is absurd; so is the idea that a girl who intends to marry should not take a university course. Every man, even if compelled to push a barrow all his life, is entitled to the education which will help him to enjoy life more fully. Those who oppose these ideals generally have an axe to grind, chiefly the exploitation of ignorance and cheap labour.

We in America are committed to sex equality in education; we are committed to, and believe in, co-education from the kindergarten to the university. For education is a process of social adjustment and personal development, and you cannot achieve that with boys herded together in one school and girls herded together in another until they reach maturity. I cannot see how social adjustment can occur under such an arrangement.

Before I left the United States I wrote to many educational authorities on the question of significant trends. The replies showed that development was taking place in every phase of education. Revision of the curriculum heads the list and teacher training is a good second. These are followed by improvement of instruction; reorganisation of financial support; adult education; visual education; medical services; examinations and their substitutes; and secondary education.

CHAPTER III

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

DR. SUSAN ISAACS (England): *The Principle of Activity in Modern Education*

THE aim of modern education is to create people who are not only self-disciplined and free in spirit, gifted in work and in enjoyment, worthy and desirable as persons, but also responsible and generous in social life, able to give and to take freely from others, sensitive to social needs, willing to serve social ends and to lose themselves in social purposes greater than themselves. Such a view of our educational aims rests, on the one hand, upon a philosophy of social life and human destiny, and on the other upon the scientific study of social psychology and of the growth and development of individual human beings.

The '*principle of activity*' expresses the empirically discovered truth that the child grows by his own efforts and his own real experience, whether it be in skill or knowledge, in social feeling or spiritual awareness. It is not what we do to the child or for the child that educates him, but what we enable him to do for himself, to see and learn and feel and understand for himself, and this is equally true of the young infant, the school child and the adolescent.

If we seek a master key to intellectual and social development, we may find it in the *problems* with which life

faces the child at every turn, and in his solving of these problems. From his earliest days the child has real problems to deal with, in learning his way about the world, and learning to understand and to control his own feelings. For instance, the business of feeding presents difficulties to some children, difficulties which in most cases they can overcome for themselves. There is the problem of changing appearances: infants, after becoming accustomed to seeing their parents in certain kinds of clothes, are apt to be disturbed and distressed when their appearance is completely changed by a different outfit. There is the problem of learning to pick things up and throw them down. At 18 months we can test a child's intelligence by seeing if he can solve the problem of getting something which is out of his reach by pulling a string to which it is attached. The child of two will try to pick up a sunbeam lying across the carpet—he has still to discover that the pencil of light cannot be picked up.

A little boy of two years, who enjoyed himself one day using a pencil to make lovely black marks all over a piece of paper, discovered in the garden a long stick about the same size and colour as the pencil and tried to make the same lovely black marks. They would not come and he tried the other end. Then he seemed to think that the trouble lay in the way he was holding the stick. He did not succeed in solving his problem, but probably the next time he had a real pencil he noticed the lead and grasped the essential difference between the pencil and the stick. It is, indeed, difficult for us to comprehend the extent to which everything in the child's physical environment is a problem to him. I remember once being faced with a problem which helped me to understand the child's difficulties. A doctor threw across the room to me an object about the size of a man's hand and said, 'Tell me what it is.' It was made of horn, but what it was I could not tell—it was not a ram's horn or a tusk. In the end he had to tell me it was an elephant's toe nail. I had seen an elephant's toe nail on an elephant, but not off: and I could understand

a little of what the child must be faced with every day until he can bring some order into his experience. Every act of perception which we make is the crystallized product of countless solutions of that kind.

Not only things, but people also, the behaviour of grown-ups, their comings and goings, times and seasons, may be a constant puzzle to the little child. One three-year-old boy said: 'Why won't people do anything if you don't say anything?' The meaning of the question was not very clear, but enquiry showed it to be: 'What is the mysterious connection between saying "Please" and "Thank you" and having a piece of cake?' To the boy it was an obvious problem —the link was unintelligible to him.

The infant's problems are not essentially different from those which occupy the older child or the man of science or affairs; they differ in complexity and the degree of skill and experience needed for their solution. All later achievements of thought and knowledge arise from the first attempts of the young child to understand and to master the world around him; all the highest moral purposes have their roots in his earliest struggles with his feelings and impulses towards his parents. Our function as his educators is to help him find the most satisfactory and stable solution to these problems of feeling and of understanding. This constitutes *our* problem of educational technique, and requires our understanding of the child's way of growth.

In the early years (up to five or six years) the child's own play is his chief resource in solving the problems which face him, whether of external knowledge or internal balance; in later childhood, the work that is akin to play, since it takes up and uses the child's own creative impulses in art, in learning and in social relationships. Intellectual growth begins with the child's first relations with his mother, in his first vital impulses of sucking, grasping and touching, exploring with hand and eye, walking, looking into things, pulling things to pieces and putting them together again, watching people

and listening to their talk, babbling and lalling, discriminating sounds and trying to speak. All these natural impulses bring him definite experiences, which build up in his mind certain expectations about the behaviour of things and people. His first expectations are not, however, always fulfilled; the child constantly gets surprises and finds himself in error. He is thus brought up against new problems, which have again to be solved by further experiment and observation.

The child's spontaneous play shows us the various ways in which he seeks to solve these problems of experience. The three main ways are:

1. *The manipulative solution*: solving a problem by actually doing this and that, working it out practically. The little boy with the problem of the pencil and the stick was trying to solve it in this way. This is the earliest form of play, and one which remains a necessity throughout childhood, even when imagination and verbal thinking are also developed. For example, a little boy of four and a half showed from the practical solution of a problem how much he had learned by experiment. When he wanted to keep up a platform on which he was standing, he got a big box and pushed it underneath. That solution, which was his own, was the outcome of four years' experimental activity. The child's manipulative play with his fingers and toes, his toys and the ordinary objects of his environment, is not simply a source of pleasure, not merely a means of developing bodily skill; it is a means of understanding, of seeing and of thinking. Through it he learns the nature and the function of the objects his senses explore.

2. *The imaginative solution*. In his make-believe play, the child learns to bring the past and the future to bear upon the present. The imaginative process begins much earlier than people realise. There is evidence to suggest that it begins in the first year; in the second year it manifests itself unmistakably. A girl of sixteen months, for example, would go over to an embossed leather screen, pick off something,

carry it across the room very carefully and pop it first into her mother's mouth and then into her father's. Again, a boy just over two when out for a walk on a wet day saw a gate post running with rain. Evidently out of sympathy, he took out his handkerchief and tried to dry it.

Through imagination the child grows independent of immediate practical issues, and learns to argue, 'If this happens, that may follow'—an essential step in logical thinking. Two small children were building castles. One said, 'I will make mine as high as the sky.' The other said, 'If you do that, airplanes would knock it down!' Here is an interesting example of an imaginative solution from the field of social relations. A boy of four and a half was threatened by a boy of seven and a half. The elder boy had the younger in a corner and said, 'I am going to get all the guns and swords in the world and shoot you dead.' The younger child thought for a moment and said, 'They do not sell those things to children!—a very adequate reply and an excellent solution of the problem.

3. *The solution by language.* When the child masters speech, he learns to draw upon the experience of others to solve his problems. He not only asks questions and puts his own experience into words, but learns to deal with more general and more complex problems. It is not true that the child cannot reason until he can use abstract verbal logic; he thinks first with his hands and his imagination, long before he can do so in words. But words help him to generalise and to master more complex relations. It is on the basis of his practical thinking that he gains mastery over language itself. After language is developed, all three types of problem-solving go on together in the child's life.

DR. SUSAN ISAACS (England): *The Pre-School Child: Home Care and Training*

The emotional development of the pre-school child is to be discussed under another heading. This lecture is confined to the growth of the child in skill and understanding. In the home a great deal can be done to foster the child's intellectual development. The child between two and five years needs room to run and jump, climb and balance, and play apparatus to help the development of these skills. Lack of chance to move freely causes him emotional irritation and hampers his physical growth.

The parent needs to know something of the normal age for the development of the various skills (for example, when the child can learn to feed himself, to wash himself, to run and throw and play with other children), as well as something about suitable play material for different ages. A great deal of the naughtiness of little children comes from not having enough to do, enough opportunity to develop independence. On the other hand, if we try to make the child do certain things before he is ready for them, for example, if we try to enforce habits of cleanliness at too early an age, we exasperate him and cause unnecessary anxiety and clumsiness. By suitable clothing and equipment, by putting hooks to hang coats on at the right height, by having tables, chairs, cupboards, wash bowls, etc., of the right size, we can help the child to grow in happiness and independence.

A friendly, responsible attitude to the child's interests and skill, and the taking of trouble and time when he is ready to learn, instead of forcing passive obedience, makes a great difference to his social attitudes, as well as to his skill and knowledge in later years.

Another great need of the child is the chance to pretend, to join in make-believe play. It is in his make-believe play

that he first develops his knowledge of the past and future and his interest in the behaviour of real things and people. The play material which fosters this imaginative drama—dolls, dolls' houses, tea-cups and saucers, bus conductors' caps, and so on, is as necessary for the child's development as beads to thread and bricks of different shapes to stimulate his perception of shapes and sizes and his manipulative skill.

The companionship of other people is an essential experience for the little child. In the earliest days he needs a friendly, loving adult to play with him, to talk to him and to share his interests and activities. From two years onwards he needs also the opportunity to play with other children for at least part of every day. It is a mistaken notion that the good child will play by himself. The child in the home needs to be able to talk with others about what he is doing, to ask questions, to share impressions and activities and feelings, to be listened to as well as talked with. He needs the chance to interest himself in the ordinary doings of the home. It is far better for him to follow his mother round, 'helping' her in household activities, and learning to do things for himself, than to be kept clean and quiet and apart in a nursery. Such active play and companionship and talk, moreover, and the happiness and satisfaction to his normal impulses of growth which they bring, contribute also to his bodily health and poise. The actively interested child in a responsive environment has better health than the lonely regimented child in the institution or the secluded nursery.

It is a great help to remember that the child needs time to master the complex skills and knowledge required for satisfactory life, and that time and growth are always on our side if we give him pleasure in his own activities and share his interests with him. Above all, it is his own spontaneous play which helps the child forward. Whether from the point of view of his relations with other people, or his own skill and knowledge, the child's play is his means of living and of understanding life.

DR. SUSAN ISAACS (England): *Emotional Difficulties and Nursery Training*

The emotions of the young child are intense, his impulses strong and immediate; but his means of control and adaptation, his understanding of the consequences of his own actions and the behaviour of others, are meagre. Yet he has imagination and a primitive logic, which makes him fear the results of his own angry impulses towards those whom he deeply loves and upon whom he is dependent for love and for life itself. He feels angry when he is denied or frustrated, but because he also loves those with whom he is angry, he becomes anxious and distressed—an anxiety which shows itself in the many typical difficulties of the nursery years—in difficulties of feeding, in breakdowns in cleanliness, in tantrums and screaming fits, in phobias and night-terrors, in stammering or inhibition of speech. Such difficulties are extremely common in early childhood, although they vary much in degree and lastingness. If we handle them rightly, they pass away with the normal processes of growth, since they are very largely an expression of emotional conflict bound up with growth. Even the child's phobias, of biting animals for example, have their function in enabling him to maintain some degree of emotional balance, at a time of acute anxiety about his own aggressive impulses.

A crude theory of habit as the key to training does not yield the wisest approach to the child's difficulties. The function of habit in its relation to feelings and wishes and imagination needs to be understood.

As in intellectual growth, so in social and emotional development, we cannot solve the child's problems for him; but we can give him support and help in finding his own solution to them. The chief needs of the child during the nursery years are: (a) security; (b) parents with patience and confidence in his future; and (c) play.

(a) *Security.* Without security, the child cannot venture to learn or to enter upon active social relations. And security has itself at least four main aspects:

1. *A rhythmic pattern* in the details of his life—regular meals, and sleep time, an ordered routine of the day. Such regularity means safety and love to the child's feelings. We must, however, distinguish between the rhythmic routine which we should provide, and the attempt to force regularity upon the child himself, before he is ready for it.

2. *A firm control* by those upon whom he depends, when such control is appropriate. He needs to feel that they will take care of themselves and of him, against his anger and destructive wishes. He knows that *he* cannot do so, and if they will not, he falls into despair.

3. *Stable attitudes* in those around him. If the child cannot tell from what quarter the wind of other people's feelings will blow, he cannot learn to trust and control himself.

4. *Affection.* Without love, warm generous love, actively expressed in a way which the child can understand, he can never believe in others or in himself. Experience shows that an early lack of love leaves a permanent scar upon the *developing personality*. This was very strikingly illustrated recently by the study of the history of a number of delinquent girls in adolescence who had for some years been cared for in a residential home, and given psychological help by trained and gifted people, as well as every sort of practical education and medical care. After several years of this regular care, it was found that half of the girls treated became well and happy, and able to take up a normal and responsible life outside the home. Of the other half, those who did not respond to all this varied help, it was found that every single girl had in one way or another been deprived of love and happiness in the first two years of life. One might have been able to predict such a result on general knowledge of the child's needs, but it is striking to find it confirmed so clearly and fully.

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(b) Parents with *patience and confidence in the child's future*. Any attempt to force the growth of his skill or virtue, for example, in too early and too rigid training in cleanliness, leads not only to failure, but to mental ill-health. This confidence in the child's future is itself fostered by knowledge of the age at which the various skills and social qualities typically appear in the course of normal growth.

(c) *Play*. In the emotional field as in the intellectual, the child's free spontaneous play is the best help to his attaining mental balance and harmony, learning to trust himself, to measure the strength of his own impulses, to work out the consequences of his own actions, to feel powers of control grow within himself, to believe in his own love and constructive wishes, to identify himself with others and incorporate their needs within his own nature—and so to become a social being. Throughout the early years, play is his chief means of maintaining health and ensuring normal social growth.

DR. SUSAN ISAACS (England): *The School and the Home*

The school and the home are both venerable institutions, rooted deeply in the past and in the natural relationships of human beings. We take the home for granted, but sometimes seem to think of the school as a modern invention. It is by no means so. The people who lived in these islands before the white man arrived, and the simpler people all over the world, had institutions that may not have been called schools but were so in fact and function. As long as human beings have been conscious of their aims and beliefs, the elders of the tribe have taken the younger members apart for a period of initiation, and solemnly communicated to them their own

wisdom, the customs and beliefs, knowledge and tradition of the tribe.

In the history of our own civilization, there have been many historical gaps in the existence of the school, many periods when society as a whole was indifferent to and neglectful of the welfare of its children, although the Church maintained a deliberate education for the few. Little more than one hundred years ago, in industrial regions, the majority of children were not members of the community to whom the tribal wisdom must be handed on, but working machines to be exploited for profit. Far from being educated, children of four and five years were not merely made to toil with the loom at home, but to spend long hours in mines and factories. The early philanthropists of the nineteenth century had a great struggle to save the precious heritage of childhood from that terrible slavery, and redeem our civilization. The wisdom of the elders had to be reborn in the genius of those outstanding people who re-created the school for us. Slowly, through many struggles, many fights, the school was reborn, and in the last quarter of the nineteenth century became again an established and universal instrument of civilization.

In the first outcome of that struggle, the school became one-sided and artificial. It was concerned entirely with bookish learning, the laborious mastering of the three Rs unrelated to life. We had a new slavery for little children. At the official age of five, and even at four years of age, we made them read and write and do little meaningless sums. As thus conceived, the school had naturally very little relation to the home. For the schoolmaster and mistress and for the education authority, the home was a place to feed and clothe the child, to send him to school, to give him some moral training, and above all to see that he did his homework. It was in the school that the child learned and became civilized.

Nowadays, owing to an immense variety of influences, our notion of the relation between the home and the school has been profoundly modified, as our view of the function of the

school itself has changed. We have a wider conception of the purpose of the school in its relation to the community; and a much greater knowledge of the child and of the ways in which he grows and learns. We no longer wish to force knowledge upon the child, but to help him to win knowledge and wisdom and happiness for himself. Along with these changes has come a new vision of the service which the home itself can render to its children.

I want to say something about each of these—our changing conception of the school, our greater knowledge of the child, and our newer vision of the function of the home. I will take the last two together first of all, and come back to speak of the school presently.

I do not know whether I need to give you examples to reinforce the fact that the school has been obliged to take account of the home of the child and of the child in the home.

Here is a case of a boy of seven who seems intelligent but is hard to rule, uneasy and restless, and cannot do his arithmetic. The teacher uses every means within her power, but is unable to get the child to do his sums or to settle down into school life. Inquiry is made into his home conditions. He is found to be the son of a caretaker in a block of London flats, living at the top of the block, the only child, his mother and father occupied with taking care of the building and cleaning the offices below. The child has always been confined to the rooms at the top, with nowhere to go, no one to play with, no natural playground, no normal activities. He has been left alone very often for hours during the day and thus artificially housed, because of the responsibilities of the father and the mother. It is little wonder, with such a history, that he found it difficult to settle down in school.

Another boy of seven and a half years, attending a good preparatory school, was unable to settle down—he was mischievous, greedy, always trying to get sweets, occasionally stealing from other children, and could not learn. This disposition had arisen largely through quarrels between the

parents. The father was a professional man of very limited means; the mother had, all through the early years of the child's life, constantly reproached the father because he had not done better for the family. The child had been present at many of these quarrels and was unhappy and in distress about it.

Here, again, is a girl of eight, anxious to learn, but so terrified that she was unable to keep her attention upon her work and liable to burst into tears at any moment. The mother came to the school and talked to the teacher, reporting that she was in the same state at home, nervous, terrified of the dark and of being left alone. The child was referred to a psychological clinic, and these troubles greatly relieved. The circumstances leading to her distress of mind were these. The mother was a very respectable, hard-working woman in straitened circumstances and with a large family. The little girl was the oldest of the family; there were five others and a new baby on the way. She had been prematurely turned into a mother herself, wheeling the twins in a pram to the park, and looking after not only the twins, but a boy of five and a baby of two as well. She had to see these children safely across the London streets, and had to do much of the family shopping for the mother when she came home from school, which meant carrying large bags of potatoes and groceries. There was never time for her to play and enjoy herself.

A little boy of six in an infant school was anti-social and given to stealing, but in a special way. He stole ten shillings from a teacher in the school, and said he had 'given it to a poor man who needed it more than she did!' Inquiry revealed that he was an illegitimate child, neglected and unhappy. It may be that to his mind the poor man was the father whom he had never known.

Here is a boy who is definitely backward in intelligence but cannot do even so well at school as his intelligence should enable him to do, until it is discovered that his mother believes he will 'always be silly, like his uncle,' and has shown him that she has no faith in his ever being able to learn

anything. This belief is discouraging the child from using even those powers he has.

Another child in a country school, of average intelligence, is unable to learn or play or be happy, chiefly because she is under-nourished at home. When the school makes arrangements for special food and a supply of milk, she begins to brighten up, to learn and to prosper generally.

I might perhaps give one more example of an interesting type. A little girl of seven, intelligent, able and well-adjusted, suddenly in school became restless and unsettled, hostile to her teachers and to other children, pinching and teasing the younger ones. Inquiries showed that the child's mother (she was an only child) had gone away to nurse a niece who was very ill. The mother had been away from home for a month and was likely to stay for some time. The child had been taken to her grandfather's home, and she and her own father were obliged to sleep in the same bed. The resulting over-stimulation, the absence of her mother, and the general stress of circumstances were too much for the child. She was unhappy and miserable and could only be hostile to everyone. But when her mother returned home she quickly became happy and comfortable again, and settled down to learning.

Many instances such as these have led us to realise that the teacher cannot do his work with children of any age unless he has some knowledge of the situation in the home. He needs to know not merely the general economic setting, but the attitude of the parents to the child, his relations with other children, his opportunities or lack of opportunities for play and work.

The gradual realization of this truth during the last twenty-five to thirty years has led to two main lines of action: (1) the development of child guidance clinics, which in England and America and other countries are now an important part of the services which the community renders to children and to families; (2) the growth of a closer everyday

relation between the parent and the teacher, in the child's ordinary life.

In England and America child guidance clinics have been founded and fostered, sometimes by private enterprise, sometimes by one of the great philanthropic trusts, sometimes by local educational authorities, sometimes by all these combined. Their function is the specialized one of helping the more difficult and unhappy children by means of the highest technical skill and knowledge. Children are referred to the child guidance clinic by the teacher, the parent or any social agency—children who are ill, who lie, who run away, are undisciplined or who need some special help. The clinic staff includes a doctor with psychological training, a psychologist, and a social worker. The social worker is highly trained, with a special knowledge, not only of social institutions, but also of child psychology and the special technique of studying homes and helping parents. The social worker makes a link between the clinic, the home and the school. She talks to the parents and teacher, explains to them what the clinic experts have discovered about the child, makes suggestions for help and remedial treatment, and is a highly skilled and highly knowledgeable person.

In England and Scotland we now have between fifty and sixty such clinics, but no matter how we multiply them, they will remain a specialized service. But the ordinary child, too, and the mother and the father of the ordinary child need help. The co-operation of the home and the school in the everyday problems of the everyday child is quite as important as provision for the more difficult children.

In England we do not talk very much about 'parent education' as such; on the whole parents would *somewhat* resent such a term. I suspect that in New Zealand, as well as in England, every man's home is his castle. Only slowly have parents been willing to discuss their problems with the teacher. And they are right, if 'parent education' is approached with patronage. They are right, too, if teachers under-estimate the

difficulty and the special nature of the mother's problem. It may be a hard task to teach fifty children in school and have them working happily. It is an infinitely harder task if you are the mother of one, two, five children, and have to cook and shop and sew and clean and wash, to keep your husband good-tempered, to look after a baby of two months, to answer the questions of a five-year-old and to make sure that the child of eight or nine gets off to school in time and receives all the training he needs. In all these varied tasks and in teaching her young children, the mother needs technical help. Even fathers are beginning to realise that it is possible to get technical help in the business of fatherhood, but they do not want to be preached to, and to be made guilty and anxious in their efforts to foster and guide their children.

During recent years, many varied modes of co-operation between home and school have been developed. In England, in the nursery and infant schools, the parents are commonly in daily touch with the headmistress. With little children, who have to be brought to school, this is natural. The mother stops to chat about the child, and the skilled nursery school superintendent is able to gain a great deal of information that way. It always amazes me, when I go into these schools, what an extent of information the headmistress will have about the child and his family. In the bigger schools, and with older children, this is not so easy. Schools for older children often arrange, therefore, special occasions for meeting and not only those 'open days' when the work of the children is on show. These are not always an unmixed blessing, since it is difficult to refrain from polishing up, and set times for inspection do not always give a typical picture of the school. Parents' evenings and afternoon meetings are now quite common and very useful. In some infant schools, children are allowed to cook and to make their own cakes, and then invite mothers to come and eat the cakes. Many of these mothers' meetings are jolly occasions. A superintendent of a nursery school in a slum district commonly had the mothers to tea on certain

days, after the children had gone home; and instead of talking over problems, the mothers simply became children themselves and played with the children's toys. After such happy times, they would say, 'Eh, Miss, this has done us a power of good.' She felt they had gained understanding of the school and of the children.

Another useful thing is to give the parents a chance to see the children at work or play in their school surroundings. It is a tremendous refreshment to the mother to sit there and watch her child playing with his little friends. Even trained teachers can benefit from merely observing children, free from responsibility for a time. How much more must this be true of the mother, who knows perhaps only her own two or three children and half-a-dozen of her neighbours'. In the school she may see her child drinking his milk without making a fuss, or an older boy sweeping up the floor or arranging flowers in a vase. She may say, 'Miss, he never does that at home!' and begin to realise how she may receive and encourage his wish to help.

Such informal meetings between teacher and parent enable them to pool their knowledge of the child; and some children behave so differently in different environments, that it is a great help to full understanding and wise handling.

There are, in addition, more formal and deliberate associations between parents and teachers. In England, the Home and School Council exists precisely for the purpose of linking these two types of activity. It has now a large number of branches with two field-workers, many occasional lecturers, and a number of other people like myself who talk to mothers and to teachers, and to mothers and teachers together. Besides lectures and discussions, and arguments about general problems, consultations about particular problems are provided for.

Another important aspect is the improvement of school reports. We no longer find it enough to say, 'He would do better if he were not so lazy,' and are beginning to realize

how desirable it is to give the parent a picture of the many-sided activities and the social development of the child in the school, as well as to gain from the parent information about the pupil's interests and behaviour at home.

In England we do not care for formal case conferences. One institution in a country I will not name regularly holds 'case conferences' between the mother and half-a-dozen experts at a time. The poor mother has to hear technical opinions from all these experts! Expert information is needed, but can only be useful if it is handed on to the mother in a simple, direct and human manner, by one person. Whether it be headmistress or social worker does not matter, so long as she appreciates the mother's point of view, and approaches her as a helper, not as a dogmatic critic or expert.

Those examples may serve to suggest the ways in which we are trying to bring about a closer relation between the home and the school. I want to suggest to you, however, that the need to help parents is not the whole story. It is a one-sided and ill-based view to assume that the parent has everything to learn from the teacher. The school has just as much to learn from the home, as the home from the school. Indeed, we may truly say that the school has only become what it is today—a place where children live happily and are helped to grow into reasonable men and women of integrity and wisdom—in so far as it has learned from the home and has become more like the home. One of the greatest of our educators, Froebel, showed us how education starts with the natural relationship of the mother and the child—the play of the child on the mother's knee, and the mother's response to it. In this natural communion he saw the pattern of the good educational relationship. It is only in so far as we have begun to appreciate this truth and to base our work upon it, that the school has become a place of genuine education, where we take up the child's natural wish, revealed in his play, to understand the basic situations of life in the home and the neighbourhood, and use these as the motive of his learning.

The school is becoming more and more a home, with pleasant surroundings and friendly relationships, where children move about and talk, and share in varied activities—a place where life is interpreted to the child.

We are, moreover, coming to realize that the teacher's own function is essentially parental. Froebel gave us the conception of the teacher as the child's gardener, fostering the growth of the child by care and nourishment. But the relation of the teacher to the child is much more than that of a gardener. They are of the same species, bound by an intimate emotional relation. If a plant goes wrong or dies, it is an inconvenience. If a child dies, becomes delinquent or unhappy, the teacher's work is a tragic loss. The teacher is not a mere gardener; he is always a parent, using the functions of a parent in a special way. If he is a good teacher, he has the parent's love and friendliness, his concern for the child, as well as an interest in the teaching of a particular subject. The child is grateful for the specialized work of the teachers, for the school which exists for the single purpose of teaching him and fostering his growth. But however specialized the work, it rests upon a parental relation between teacher and child.

The home is the chief guardian of the early years and of the child's happiness and general development; the school is the place of specialized teaching and technical knowledge, although it too, of course, should safeguard the child's health and pleasure. The relation between the home and the school is thus seen to be the mutual support of differentiated functions. The home renders one service to the child, the school another, but each implies and requires the work of the other. Co-operation and mutual respect are needed, and a recognition by each of the other's function.

I would like to make two other points. First, to emphasise one aspect of what the school may gain from closer co-operation. It is surely true that women teachers, especially in schools for older children, would be immensely enriched in their personal lives as well as in their teaching, from

knowing more about the homes and the individual lives of their pupils, and by friendly personal relations with fathers and mothers and families. In some measure it would counteract the disadvantages of spinsterhood and childlessness and the spiritual impoverishment which often comes to women in such circumstances. The nursery school teacher has these contacts as a matter of course and her own life is made happier. The teacher of older girls, the subject specialist, would gain much emotional satisfaction from a closer co-operation with the homes of her pupils.

Finally, another important argument in favour of a closer co-operation between home and school is that it creates and maintains an informed public opinion about education. In this regard, teachers have everything to gain—appreciation of their work, public status, support in the demand for better methods and conditions, a keener recognition of the value of education as a whole. All these things in the last resort depend upon the support of the public; and it is the parents, after all, who make up the greater part of the public. For instance, in trying to improve methods of teaching reading, it is desirable to carry the parents with us. It is easy to understand that parents should want their children taught the three Rs and marks assessed; this seems to give them a definite record of progress. Parental information on such points naturally lags rather behind the technical knowledge of teachers, but if we show parents what we are doing, and why we are doing it, we gain the support of an educated public opinion.

But the children themselves gain most from the co-operation of home and school. Instead of two diverse ways of looking at life, two different standards of work and behaviour, they enjoy a unified world. I hope I have at least suggested how greatly the school and the home, and the child who lives in both, may gain from closer understanding and mutual help.

MRS. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Parents and Children*

The question of how parents should behave to their children and of how children should behave to their parents is one frequently confronting fathers and mothers of today. That they are anxious to find a trustworthy answer is evident from the mass of books, magazines and pamphlets published nowadays, setting forth the child's needs, his difficulties and his rights. It seems, however, that there is still room for a sympathetic manual for parents about themselves, to help them to understand their own personal difficulties as parents, and how best to make the adjustments necessary in their own lives to secure a healthy, happy family atmosphere.

The days of a simple rule-of-thumb method of bringing up a family have disappeared. With the weakening of many social conventions, numerous questions of family behaviour have to be settled by parents according to their own lights without much guidance from society at large. Fresh difficulties arise from the ease of modern transport and the multiplication of opportunities for entertainment that children and young people have, either as active members, or merely as spectators. Moreover, children are kept longer at school and in spite of mature years have little experience of responsibility. At the same time the parents' sense of serious obligation towards their children is increased by the emphasis doctors and psychologists alike now put on the importance of right conditions for physical and mental growth in the early years of childhood. The parents thus find both their difficulties and their responsibilities increased; they find themselves definitely singled out as the most important factors in the satisfactory development of their children, both as individuals and as citizens.

To be properly equipped for their job, parents need both understanding of what they are aiming at and knowledge

of how to achieve their ends—not that the one is independent of the other. Understanding leads parents to acquire knowledge which in its turn may modify and enlarge their aims. Understanding produces right attitudes, knowledge produces right actions.

First, between themselves the parents must achieve a right mutual relationship as husband and wife. This means, on the one hand, an appreciation of the spiritual aspects of their married life together, and on the other, a knowledge of how to make the physical relationship satisfactory to both. Secondly, in the family, they must recognize their children as persons, entitled to the same consideration and respect that the parents themselves desire, and they must acquire the knowledge necessary to enable them to help these persons to develop into the best kind of people it is possible for them to be. Thirdly, fathers and mothers must have some understanding of the basic values of the home as an environment for growing valuable human beings. They must realize that the old instinctive qualities of the home as the place of refuge, of comfort, of sympathy, are true values which fresh discoveries in psychology serve only to emphasise; but at the same time parents must be ready to learn the best ways that have been found of making the home a place where children can enjoy security, freedom, and that deep sense of well-being that comes from living in an atmosphere of assured sympathy and love. Fathers and mothers must be able and willing to learn how to grow along with their children, how to understand the changing needs of the growing family, how to adjust home conditions to these needs, how to reconcile themselves to the differences of opinion that growth must bring, how to make a home that is a stronghold but not a prison.

The job is one that parents cannot escape from. They may refuse to learn new ways of understanding their children and dealing with them; but they are educating and moulding their children for good or ill whether they neglect them or

whether they coddle them. It is a realization of this responsibility that has led groups of parents in many countries to consult together about these matters, so that their ideals may be reasonable and suited to their own times, and so that they may learn from one another, and more especially from leaders who are still better informed, the ways of handling children that give most promise of producing happy, healthy adults and satisfactory citizens. This business of learning, alone or in groups, by reading, discussion, observation, or from lectures, how best to help the younger generation to grow up to full physical, mental and emotional stature, is the process of parent education. It will help to give the status of a career to parenthood.

Mrs. F. W. HART, M.A. (U.S.A.): *Parent Education*

Parents in the thinking world of today are learning many things. We are learning that the education of our children is a wide and inclusive thing and that the factors which influence it are many and extensive. We are coming to realize that we cannot turn our children over to the schools and expect them to do the whole job for us, but we are appreciating the fact that the school is only one agency among the many which are active in forming character. We have come to understand that children are being educated all the time and through many influences—that the street, the playground, the church, the motion-picture theatre, and the home are all important factors along with the school, as places where information is gained, trends established, and character formed. If the home be a normal one, it tends to be the most important factor of all; the attitudes and standards which are acquired in the home have been shown

to be the most significant and permanent in the lives of young people. While the influence of the school is important it is neither constant nor intense—it is the home which has the best opportunity to develop the essential patterns for democracy and happy living.

If we grant this tremendous influence of the home on the character and outlook of our youth, and through it on society in general, what about the preparation of parents for this very important job? How many parents have had any training or have given much consideration to establishing wise relationships between themselves and their children? Changed conditions in the social order of an ever more rapidly changing civilization make it necessary for the parents of today not only to think out basic principles of action with regard to their children, but to be constantly ready to adjust these principles to a changing environment. Hence comes the need for some form of education for parents.

The parent education movement in the United States was a natural outcome of two other big general movements. The first, the adult education movement, had created among a large number of people a desire to continue with some form of learning. For young mothers and fathers parent education groups offered a study which was applicable to the new duty they had at hand in their homes. Such studies appealed also to older parents whose children were passing through difficult phases of development.

The second thing which stimulated study of parent-child relations was the awakened interest in child life and the advances made in the field of child psychology. Need of a knowledge of child growth and development, especially in its emotional aspect, has led many parents into organized study of the subject. Many such study groups have sprung into being and are conducted along various lines. Some emphasize text-book study and some adopt the lecture method; but the large majority have taken over the so-called 'American way' of group discussion. In the State of California

these groups are an integral part of the adult education programme. The Bureau of Parent Education, however, has held to an experimental attitude and sought to avoid the deadening effects of standardization, with the result that groups in varying situations have been left to develop as their needs seemed to suggest.

Typical groups (some of which are under lay, and some under professional leaders) discuss specific behaviour problems encountered by members of the group as well as general subjects arising from them, and endeavour to find authoritative material for study purposes. The subjects discussed include: obedience, truth and honesty, fears of childhood, quarrelling among children, attitudes and habits related to sex—the everyday problems of the everyday home. Group members frequently carry on home projects such as keeping a record of one day's experience in regard to direct commands to children. The groups also endeavour to keep in close touch with persons in the community who are concerned with the growth and development of children, such as public health nurses, professors of biology and psychology, judges, social workers, and workers in child clinics. The groups meet, usually in a local school building, for a two-hour period once a week for twenty-four weeks during the year. A smaller amount of time devoted to the subject has proved ineffective. Lay leaders have shown themselves just as successful as the professional type, provided they have enough information to enable them to lead the thinking of the group and can also handle group discussion. Beginning with the specific question of parent-child relations, the groups inevitably widen their range to include a discussion of all human relationships which affect the child—his relationship to the school, the neighbourhood, the church, the government, in fact, his whole social environment.

After some ten years of developmental work in parent education in California, those who had taken part were invited to make a compilation of the objectives for which

they had been striving. Finally a committee under Dr. Gertrude Laws, head of the State Bureau of Parent Education, drew up the following statement of objectives:

1. 'To gain appreciation of the worthwhileness of child activities and interests for their own sake as well as for preparation for life,' i.e. to realize that for the child, each day is his life right now, and is of value as such, and that the parent's function is to make him at home in his child world.
2. 'To establish the habit of sympathetic observation of child activities and interests.' We should learn to watch with an open mind the way in which a child carries on an activity, how he meets obstacles, the signs of growth he shows in his responses to things.
3. 'To develop interest in the critical study of psychology.' The kind of psychology which is useful to parents in their educational activities is based upon carefully recorded and tested data, but data which indicate only tentative conclusions and which force one to do some thinking for oneself.
4. 'To establish the habit of suspending judgment when dealing with children.' We should give ourselves time for our reason and judgment to come into play rather than act on our first emotional response to a situation.
5. 'To increase ability to face facts about ourselves which make child adjustment more difficult.' Defence of the self often blurs the vision. The ability to face unpleasant facts about ourselves with courage and effectiveness is an indication of mental health.
6. 'To gain an understanding of mental health which is as reliable as our understanding of physical health.' Mental health must come out of growth in self-control and self-direction, and this in turn can develop only if the child is allowed to make choices and decisions which are really his own.
7. 'To increase interest in and understanding of school procedures.' Many of the difficulties of children would fade away if there were a common philosophy of education upon

which fathers and mothers and teachers were basing their practices.

8. 'To gain control of a method of attack upon problems of human relationships.' The value of the scientific method applied to human relationships cannot be over-estimated. The task is to put into use a method which will lead us to test our conclusions and discover the real nature of our difficulties.

9. 'To become familiar with reliable sources of information concerning growth and development.' Ignorance is no alibi for parents when so much fine material is now obtainable.

10. 'To achieve a realization that the home is the essential interpreter of child experience and the background of reference and security.'

John Dewey, our famous educator and philosopher, has said: 'Knowledge of human nature, and how it develops and is modified, has grown enormously in the last generation. It has grown especially with respect to how relations between persons—between parents with respect to each other and with respect to their offspring—affect character. The important movement for parent education has developed out of this increased knowledge. But there are still multitudes of parents who have not had the most rudimentary contact with the new knowledge, and who are totally unaware of the influences that are most powerfully affecting the moral future of their children.'

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Problem Children*

Within the present century a whole new art of child guidance has come into being. It began with the measuring scale of intelligence devised by Alfred Binet in 1905. That, and other measures of capacity and achievement that followed on it, gave a definiteness to thought not only about backward

children but about both children and adults of all sorts, which had previously been lacking. So it became possible to diagnose more fundamentally than ever before the mental states underlying aberrant behaviour. Round about the time that Binet was seeking to determine amount of intelligence a new hormic psychology was taking form under the influence of the evolutionary psychologists on the one hand, and of the psycho-analysts on the other. This psychology has proved capable of giving an interpretation of human behaviour in general, and abnormal behaviour in particular, which has been of great value in dealing with all kinds of difficulties in conduct.

The first application of this new knowledge was in dealing with backward children. Later it found use in cases of juvenile delinquency and more recently still in cases of speech defects. But its application has not been limited to abnormal people. Vocational guidance is based on it, and it is beginning to provide a valuable supplement to, and sometimes a substitute for, the ordinary examinations by which children and youths are selected for advancements and appointments.

The child guidance clinic for dealing with problem children is its most important outcome. Here the children whose behaviour is such as to baffle parents and teachers can be helped to become quite normal persons. Their difficulties are very varied: temperamental weaknesses (fears, tantrums, suspicions and prejudices), anti-social behaviour (bullying, stealing, destructiveness), incapacities (inability to read, lack of ordinary skills, learning below native powers), physical upsets (enuresis, tics, etc.).

Because a physical factor enters into certain of these difficulties, the claim is made that clinics for dealing with them should be controlled by the psychiatrist, as the medical expert. But in point of fact the problem in most cases is educational in its essence, and calls for educational treatment, with the doctor as occasional adviser where the physical

condition is an element in the situation. What is generally wrong is conduct conditioned by wrong training and unsatisfactory social environment. To bring the problem child back to right ways of life in most cases it is partly re-education that is needed and partly the improvement of life in home and school: and this obviously is a task for an educator and not for a doctor.

The case for educational guidance is even stronger where the difficulty is in the province of learning. The child who is badly retarded in reading, for example, is an obvious case for the educator. The fact that there are often emotional factors in educational disabilities is no reason for taking such a case out of the teacher's hands and putting it into the doctor's. The school is concerned with the emotional life as much as with the intellectual, and the teacher who is meeting with the difficult child in the course of the ordinary school life is surely the person best fitted to restore the balance in the near-normal condition of the problem child.

This view is confirmed by consideration of the kind of problems dealt with in the ordinary child guidance clinic. Cases calling for psychiatric treatment are uncommon. Most cases of difficulty, even when a physical factor enters in, depend for right adjustment on training and personal influence. Take stealing as a common example. The clinical expert after a survey of the immediate situation proceeds to enquire into the child's social background and especially into the life of his home. Such emotional factors as are involved are usually those that occur in the common behaviour of everyday life, and the restoration of mental balance comes through readjustments comparable with the kind of adjustments that everyone has to make in the routine of life. But more is involved in any such delinquency than those emotional factors. All conduct depends on habits, and an important feature in the treatment in any behaviour problems is the breaking of bad habits and the establishment of good ones.

This is even more obvious when the problem is one of learning. The bad speller is cured of his mis-spelling partly by helping him to a right attitude to life and partly by getting attention concentrated on right spellings: by a general change of mind on the one hand, by the substitution of good habits for bad on the other. In both respects the problem is an educational problem and the psychologist in dealing with it becomes an educator. That is the argument for putting the care of problem children into the hands of the educational psychologist.

DR. E. G. MALHERBE (South Africa): *Delinquency as an Educational Problem*

The problem of delinquency is not a modern one. In fact, criticizing the behaviour of the young has been a favourite pastime for many generations, and each generation views the coming generation with dismay. The following lamentation was taken from a clay tablet inscribed some 6,000 years ago and found by archaeologists in the Mesopotamia valley: 'Our earth has degenerated in these latter days. There are signs that the world is coming to an end. Children no longer obey their parents. The end of the world is manifestly drawing near.' A writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* a century ago, wrote as follows: 'And what of our youth? Where one child hails the Sabbath with delight, as the day for Bible study, one hundred young mortals are growing up in ignorance and sin. The lamentable extent of dishonesty, fraud and wickedness among our boys and girls shocks the nation.' Similar instances may be multiplied to show that among the younger generation the habit of going to the devil is a very old one.

However that may be, the fact remains that crime is becoming more and more precocious: in the United States, for example, the average age of criminals has dropped ten years during the last two decades. Even in our own countries we find more and more young people falling foul of the law. Why is this? The question cannot be given a definite answer, and deserves further study. I venture to suggest, however, that the increased pace at which modern civilization is changing makes it more and more difficult for young people to find themselves, and to make the adaptations required of them. Young people today are living in a most difficult transition period. Old sanctions of the home and the church are breaking down and new ones have not yet been built up. We have a rather interesting example of this in South Africa, where the native races are going through a very difficult period as a result of the contact between their primitive culture and that of the civilized European. The sanctions imposed by their primitive tribal life and customs are strong, and, in many instances, regulate in a very valuable way the behaviour of young people as well as adults. Through contact with the civilization of the dominant white race, however, these primitive sanctions are gradually breaking down, particularly where the young native youths have come into the white man's areas and cities. The European sanctions of morality and legality have not yet been established so firmly that they function in the lives of these native people. They are in a stage betwixt and between, which leads to instability of conduct, and it is pathetic to see how many of them fall foul of the law and become criminals, first in a merely technical sense and later in a more actual sense.

All transition stages, whether ethnic or individual, are fraught with danger. In the case of the individual, adolescence is such a transition stage. (We have an idiom in Afrikaans which designates the awkward stage of the adolescent: 'too big for a serviette and too small for a tablecloth.') This is the

reason, I think, why adolescence has become very largely the age of delinquency and criminality. Most criminals are first convicted before they reach their majority. Charles Goring found that 54 per cent of the criminals in English prisons were first convicted before they were twenty.

In discussing the *causes of delinquency* one is faced with the fundamental difficulty in all social studies—namely, to distinguish between the effects of nature and nurture. Are criminals born such, or is their criminality the result of environmental conditions? Many people seem to believe that criminals are born, and this belief has been strengthened by the teachings of such men as Lombroso, who held that there were certain definite physical stigmata which characterized the criminal. There is, according to this view, a definite criminal *type*. This point of view has been strengthened by more recent studies in type psychology, such as those conducted by Kretschmer, who has done rather valuable work upon the correlation between physical features and psychological traits. The evidence to date, however, seems to indicate that the conclusion that criminals are born cannot be maintained. There is no criminal class as such, except in so far as criminal conduct has with certain individuals become habitual. Criminals are selected by force of circumstances (and here the economic factor comes into play) from the community at large. The insane, the psychopathic and the mental defective stand the best chance of being so selected.

Yet many people continue to believe that there are distinct physical characteristics which mark the criminal. It is on record that a Judge of the Supreme Court of New York stated, as a result of his experience, that there were eight physical characteristics which marked the criminal—receding chin, protruding jaw, wide unwinking stare, droop in the left eyelid, low brow, bumpy brow, thick hair, and ears set at right angles to the head; and that where as many as four of these characteristics were present in an individual there could be

no doubt as to his criminal nature. The strange thing, however, is that half a dozen well-known men—the president of a leading university, a great English preacher, a French general, a Russian statesman, a leading Spanish writer, and one of the world's greatest inventors—have at least five of the eight physical characteristics named. One cannot help wondering whether this judge had ever checked his list by applying it to his colleagues of the Bench and the Bar. He was further quoted as saying: 'If you see a man with a drooping left eyelid or with wide open staring eyes, beware of having your pocket picked.' In other words, by this simple system, one can not only recognize the criminal by sight, but also determine at a glance whether one is going to be murdered or merely have one's pockets picked!

The belief that there is such a thing as a typical or born criminal is therefore somewhat ridiculous. At any rate, it is not supported by the facts. Every crime represents a failure by society to control the individual; as well as a failure on the part of the individual to respond to whatever social control exists; and it is much better to look for the causes of delinquency outside individuals than in their inborn nature—for the behaviour of people is largely the result of forces which have impinged upon them from earliest childhood. If this point of view is sound, there is still hope for education. If, on the other hand, the goodness or badness of people were predestined at birth, there would be little justification for any optimism regarding its potency.

Let me mention a few of the conditions which predispose individuals towards delinquency.

1. *Physical and Physiological.* Under this heading should be mentioned cases where individuals are afflicted with glandular disturbances, or have suffered from some disease such as, for example, *encephalitis lethargica*. I had once to look after an eighteen-year-old boy, the son of a millionaire, who had suffered from this disease in his infancy. Though

he was eighteen years old, and quite intelligent enough to do high school algebra, he was a moral imbecile—that is, he had no control whatsoever over his more primitive instincts and passions. As a result he was continually getting into all sorts of serious trouble, and needed continual watching. He would, for example, sell a musical instrument worth £25 (he was very musical) and buy a four-gallon tin of ice-cream which he would continue to eat until he was absolutely sick; or he would jump upon a small boy who, he fancied, had insulted him and proceed to cut his throat with a pocket-knife. I mention this instance of physical and physiological disability to show you that such disabilities can act as a predisposing cause of delinquency.

2. *Low Intelligence.* Many studies have been made of the intelligence of those in prisons and institutions for delinquents. The percentages of mental deficient found by these studies varied enormously, from 90 per cent to 10 per cent, depending upon the selection of the inmates in a particular institution or community. Carl Murchison, however, after a rather extensive survey of this field in his book *Criminal Intelligence*, has come to the conclusion that the incidence of feeble-mindedness in institutions for the care of delinquents and offenders is but little greater than that for the population in general. Criminals are sometimes of very high intelligence, as was shown by the cases of Leopold and Loeb who, as university students at Chicago, callously murdered a young boy just for the excitement of doing so. Delinquents and criminals in general may be foolish, but they are by no means fools. In South Africa we found that the average intelligence of delinquent boys in reformatories is higher than that of those in institutions for neglected and dependent children.

There are two ways, however, in which low intelligence may predispose children towards delinquency. In the first place, they may get into trouble through sheer ignorance of the consequences of their actions; in the second place, owing

to an uneasy consciousness of their intellectual shortcomings they may develop an inferiority complex, and become anti-social. Even acts of violence may be resorted to by way of compensation.

3. *Thwarting of Instincts.* The desire for approval is instinctive in human beings. It is the underlying motive of most of our moral behaviour. Children in particular desire to be loved, and if such approval or love is absent they very often develop anti-social tendencies. Similarly the desire for security is instinctive in the young child. That is why good family life is the foundation of the proper development of personality. In a study of a few hundred case histories of delinquents convicted in one of our juvenile courts, I found that 70 per cent of these children came from broken homes—either the father or the mother had died or the parents had separated, or did not live together amicably. In my teaching experience, I came across a case of a young girl of 12 who persisted in pilfering small things from the other children and from the schoolroom. Investigation showed that, though she came from fairly well-to-do parents, her home life was thoroughly unhappy. Her parents fought like cat and dog. On one occasion this girl forged a charity list and collected a great deal of money under false pretences. Luckily she was discovered before those who would have sent her to court got hold of her. She was placed in charge of the Savings Bank Fund of her class and was given responsibility, praise and affection on every possible occasion, with the result that she very soon ceased her pilfering, and today is one of the respected society women in her town.

When the sex instinct is thwarted, and not properly sublimated, one very often finds that this results in stealing during the early adolescent years. Cyril Burt and other writers on delinquency have often commented upon the intimate connection between the sex instinct and the possessive or acquisitive instinct. For example, Burt quotes the instance of

a young man who, after he had been jilted by his girl, immediately proceeded to burgle a shop. In connection with the sex instinct should be mentioned also the trouble which the common habit of masturbation causes amongst many adolescent boys and girls. The physical consequences of this habit are not so bad as they are often painted. What actually harms the child is the excessive feeling of guilt which is produced by too much preaching about the matter. This feeling of guilt engenders a feeling of anxiety which undermines personality and leads to all sorts of misbehaviour in other fields. I know of many children who have shown a remarkable change in attitude towards their parents, and have reformed most remarkably in their general conduct, as a result of removing the *verbot* regarding the habit of masturbation. It is as if by removing the load of guilt off their minds their attitude becomes less furtive and their association with their parents or teacher more open-hearted and healthy. When children steal, they often do not need the objects they steal. In reality they are stealing love, the objects being merely symbols or substitutes. I know of several cases where stealing amongst young adolescents ceased suddenly after they had developed a healthy interest in, and affection for, some member of the opposite sex. Even though such affection may be entirely at a distance, or secret, it is something which the child treasures, and of which he knows nobody can rob him. Stealing or pilfering, which is sometimes punished with such severity, and with such lack of discrimination, is the result of many diverse and complex causes. It is therefore wrong to treat all those who pilfer and steal identically merely because they have all been guilty of theft.

As pointed out before, desire for approval and for some form of mastery or superiority is fundamental in every individual. If, through some circumstances in his environment, he fails to attain his desire he feels inferior. No human being can endure a persistent feeling of inferiority. He strives to

overcome it, reaching after a goal of fulfilment and security the attainment of which will give him a sense of superiority. If he is socially unprepared to meet the situation or lacks the courage to face facts he takes flight into the unprofitable and unsocial side of life. Delinquency is nearly always the result of failure to solve a problem in the individual's life. A boy, for example, finds himself out of work, or among a group of bad companions, or attracted to a girl who wants presents and a good time, and he is unable to deal properly with the situation. He does not have it in him to solve such problems in a useful way. This lack of social preparedness is often due to faulty early training and always to a mistaken conception of life. We forget in our education that social and emotional learning is as important as, if not more important than, intellectual learning. And many criminal acts are merely wrong solutions on the social level. The delinquent is one who has made a mistake in emotional learning just as a pupil may make a mistake in a multiplication sum in the field of intellectual learning.

Often the delinquent simply flees before the problems of life. There are many people who express admiration of the 'heroism' of a criminal, but anyone who has to do with criminals knows that they are cowardly. They are often afraid of ghosts, almost always superstitious and inclined to tremble in the dark. Let there be no mistake here, for they have fled before the problems of life; they are deserters. The criminal lacks courage because courage is an element of social interest. Only people who have social interest can have courage, because they feel themselves part of the whole; they know that they belong to this world; they know that they must take their share not only of the advantages, but also of the disadvantages which inevitably must be their lot. That is why all forms of sport in which the team spirit and the ideal of playing the game are fostered are such excellent prophylactics

against delinquency, particularly during the later stage of adolescence.

The criminal regards every event in his own peculiar and distorted way. What shall I get out of it? Am I safe? Those are his most important reflections. His chief aim is to overcome, but to overcome those weaker than himself. If he is a pick-pocket, he waits till his victim is looking the other way. If he is a burglar, he makes sure of darkness and loneliness. If he is a murderer, he strikes when his victims are unable to defend themselves. In practically all his actions you will see evidence of the cowardice I have already described. 'I am convinced,' says Alfred Adler, 'that if children knew—which they do not in every case—that the criminal is always a coward and shows only a poor imitation of heroism, the thought of crime would not appear to them nor to incipient criminals so attractive as it now does.' Some of our cheap talkie dramas are to blame also for the distorted picture of life which they conjure up before the minds of the young.

Often youngsters do criminal acts because of the publicity crime brings. Thereby they satisfy a craving for social recognition which may have been lacking in their lives. This absence of social recognition and a consequent feeling of inferiority are often found in cases where a person is deformed, ugly or unattractive. Such persons feel ignored, 'out of things.' And if the instinctive desire for approval or social recognition is strong in them, they will jolly well see to it that people *do* take notice of them even though they have to commit a crime to focus attention on themselves. The crime represents, therefore, an irrational attempt to compensate for their shortcomings. Here again the attempt is nothing else but a *faulty solution of a problem* with which the individual is confronted owing to a strong instinct coming up against a physical limitation or barrier. If society does not see to it that adequate satisfaction for this desire for social recognition is

provided, these victims of misfortune (that is, the ugly and the deformed) will 'take it out on' society by some form of anti-social behaviour. This, then, is the real psychological connection between physical deformities and crime and it is merely confused thinking which calls them physical stigmata of crime.

4. *Faulty Home Life.* Faulty home life is a frequent cause of misbehaviour and delinquency, as has already been pointed out. Faulty home life is by no means confined to the poor. One finds it just as often in the homes of the rich, where there is an absence of companionship between parents and children. The fathers are generally busy at work and the mothers are away at bridge or tea fights. Rousseau said that cities are the graves of the human spirit. He could say this with even greater force if he were to see the multiplication of apartment houses in modern cities. Apartments, with their cramped surroundings, are the graves of the spirit of childhood; there is no adequate room for play, with the result that children are surrounded with prohibitions, lest they should damage the precious furniture and ornaments. It is bad for a child to be continually in the presence of adults. Parents often forget that they are as likely to get on their children's nerves as their children to get on theirs.

When children are pampered it is often as bad as when they are neglected, because pampered children nearly always have a mistaken conception of life. They are always ready to receive, never to give, and when they get out into the world, and the world is cold towards them, and does not respond, they become thoroughly anti-social because their attitude is, 'What is the use of life if it does not give me what I want?' They have no interest in other people. The best way of curing the criminal or the delinquent is to develop in him a genuine interest in other people. This is why the social side of the child's education should never be neglected, and why an only child is in many

ways at a disadvantage, because he is not so easily socialized as children who belong to big families.

5. *Faulty School Atmosphere.* Teachers seldom realize what an effect failure at school has on the character of the child. I found that in the primary schools in South Africa there were over 30,000 children who had failed more than twice. Eulenberg, in Vienna, in making a study of over a thousand suicides which occurred amongst adolescents, found that one-third of these could be directly traced to discouragement and failure at school. The thing that teachers should realize is that it is the school that fails and not the children. Strictly speaking, no child should ever fail. The school, and the courses of study and the methods of teaching should be adapted to meet the needs of the individual child—otherwise the school is not really educating. To say that a child does not fit a school is just the same as saying that a badly dressed man does not fit his clothes.

When teachers are unsympathetic in their attitude towards children, or sarcastic in dealing with them, they seldom realize the effects of their attitude on the child's mental and moral development. Many children develop a *blasé* attitude and don't seem to care; but this is often merely a protective device, and many teachers are deceived by their seeming indifference. One of the best exercises I found for student-teachers was to make them write down in as great detail as possible an account of those experiences in their childhood which deeply humiliated or hurt them, even though they may not have spoken about them to anybody subsequently. One seldom realizes what feelings of revenge are hidden in the heart of a child who is provoked by an adult. To provoke a difficult child is one of the worst things it is possible for a teacher to do. The very fact that the child is younger, smaller and weaker than the adult is enough to engender in his mind a feeling of inferiority and we have seen what is likely to happen if the child's social environment does not provide adequate

compensation for him. If school life is full of censure, criticism, failure and punishment, it is impossible for it to cultivate genuine social interest in the mind of the child. In studying the lives of criminals one is struck by the fact that so many of them have really missed the sunshine of life. Very few of them have had opportunities for adequate recreation and play.

Corporal punishment is no solution of delinquency. If resorted to at school it is nearly always a sign of failure on the part of the teacher and of the school. It is much worse to inflict corporal punishment on pupils for what are regarded as serious forms of misconduct, namely, lying, stealing or sexual offences, than to punish them for transgressing merely a formal regulation or rule dealing with the routine of the school. In the former case, corporal punishment fixates the offence, and degrades the individual. Instead of being enabled to behave better in the future, he is placed in a worse position psychologically than before he was punished. In a study of delinquents in reformatories in South Africa, I found that 95 per cent of those who had received corporal punishment were recidivists. In other words, the infliction of the punishment may have satisfied society's primitive desire for sheer retribution, but it proved useless as a deterrent or as a means of reforming the delinquent.

5. *Occupational Maladjustment.* Time does not permit me to elaborate this point. Suffice to say that delinquents are often recruited from occupational misfits, those who are employed in jobs which are too difficult for them so that they become discouraged and filled with a sense of failure, or those in jobs which are too monotonous or fail to exercise their powers sufficiently or promise no advancement for real effort. In each case discontent and frustration will tend to lead to anti-social behaviour as soon as the opportunity offers.

In discussing the causes of delinquency I have indicated fairly definitely how it might be prevented. I cannot go into further details as to the rôle of education in preventing

delinquency, but I should like to add a few general observations.

Merely to say, as people did in the early nineteenth century, 'Open a school and close a gaol,' does not supply the complete answer to the question. The action of education is much more subtle and complex. Recently an investigation was made in order to ascertain the relative potency of certain moral influences on children. A questionnaire was given to a number of children, each child being asked to indicate the person who had had the greatest influence for good in his life. The general result may be gauged by the figures indicated:

The Sunday school teacher	-	-	-	-	-	0
The day school teacher	-	-	-	-	-	8
The club and scout master	-	-	-	-	-	20
The father	-	-	-	-	-	40
The mother	-	-	-	-	-	60
The child's friend	-	-	-	-	-	78

This result certainly humbles the teacher. Of course, if an omniscient deity had graded these influences, the grading might have been different. But the table represents the views of the children. Why is there such a lack of recognition on the child's part of the teacher as a moral force in his life? Is it not due to the fact that we as teachers are generally so far above him? Are we not so 'good' that he regards us as superior beings more or less aloof from him?

H. L. Mencken, in one of his searchingly provocative books, *Prejudices*, speaks with affection and esteem of two schoolmasters who had an outstanding influence on his life and character. They were men with certain moral weaknesses—particularly for tobacco and alcohol—but they knew boys and they taught their subjects with the contagious passion of fanatics. Then he goes on to say: 'I wonder if the expoundings of their passions and prejudices would have been half so charming if they had been wholly respectable men like their

colleagues of the school faculty. It is not likely. A healthy boy is in constant revolt against the sort of men who surround him at school. Their puerile pedantries, their Christian Endeavour respectability, their sedentary pallor, their curious preference for the dull and the uninteresting, their general air of so many Y.M.C.A. secretaries—these things infallibly repel the youth who is above milksoppery. In every boys' school the favourite teacher is one who occasionally swears like a cavalryman or is reputed to keep a bottle in his room or is known to receive a scented note every morning. Boys are good judges of men, as girls are good judges of women. It is not by accident that most of them, at some time or other, long to be cowboys or icewagon drivers, and that none of them, not obviously diseased in mind, ever longs to be a Sunday-school Superintendent.'

In conclusion let me outline briefly the system of training and reforming juveniles (under 16 years) and juvenile adults (16-21 years) which has in recent years been evolved in South Africa. In 1934 all reformatories and certified hostels were transferred from the Prisons' Department to the Union Education Department and in 1935 the latter took over the probation services which have since then been greatly expanded.

This transference has been a step of profound significance in the treatment of delinquency in South Africa. Placing the main responsibility for the training and after-care of all delinquents up to the age of 21 under the Union Education Department has two very important advantages:

1. This Department administers the Children's Protection Act (1913) under which it had already been made responsible for all neglected, uncontrollable and delinquent children who were committed under that Act. The new measure now brings all state institutions and services concerned with dependent and maladjusted, including delinquent, minors under one administration. Unity of control has the obvious advantage of

making it possible to deal with these various phases of maladjustment as one problem and to attack it in a causal-preventive, as well as in a remedial way. Pre-delinquent factors such as destitution, neglect, uncontrollability, and maladjustment, which so frequently lead to crime, are now considered.

2. We have now substituted the educational point of view for the purely penal one. The Education Department, by means of a radical change in the staffing and organization of institutions for delinquents, is doing its utmost to dissociate them from their historic penal associations.

The following are some of the developments which are taking place under the new regime:

Vocational training: In order to effect real rehabilitation of these boys and girls an effort is made to train them so that when they leave they can take a definite place in society as respectable citizens. In his Annual Report (1933-34) the Secretary for Education deplored the reluctance of employers to engage young people released from reformatories and hostels, and remarked: 'In this respect it were well if the State likewise recognized its obligations. Delinquents are often refused Government employment on the ground of a former lapse of conduct. This attitude is not wholly consistent and reasonable, and it discounts the behaviour and character recovery which these institutions are presumed to have effected.'

Individual study and treatment: A beginning has been made by appointing to the staffs of reformatories persons who have had training in the psychological study and treatment of behaviour problems.

Training for freedom: Efforts have been made to introduce a more liberal regime than that of the Prisons' Department, under which inmates of institutions were always locked up or kept under the strictest surveillance. The experiment of allowing some inmates to sleep with open doors and housing

others in hostels where they are free to come and go, has already shown encouraging results, even in native reformatories.

After-care: This very necessary work is made possible by the utilization of probation services in such a way that inmates on their release may receive the necessary guidance and help in re-establishing themselves in the community.

The treatment of delinquents is not confined to those in institutions. Youthful offenders are sometimes placed in foster homes, or under probation in their own homes where by means of a well-trained probation service an attempt is made to rehabilitate the home as well as the individual. The probation officers work in close co-operation with juvenile courts. They make investigations and reports on young offenders who have to appear before the courts, and also render assistance in connection with the domestic relations courts.

There are at present four juvenile courts in the Union each with a magistrate in charge who specializes in this type of work; and the Department of the Interior makes available at these courts the part-time services of psychiatrists. These provisions are by no means sufficient. I feel that the psychologist with educational experience is as necessary as the psychiatrist. Ideally, delinquency should be approached from four different angles: from the point of view of (a) the psychiatrist (including the general medical aspect), (b) the psychologist, (c) the educationist, and (d) the social worker. And in practice it is found that a specialist in each of these four fields is needed (unless one of them combines in himself more than one qualification).

The attitude underlying the reforms I have described and suggested is that delinquent children are not merely temporary nuisances, but potential social problems of the future. If the State does not spend money on them in their early youth, it will have to spend many times as much later on in trying to deal with them as adult criminals, and, in addition, it will

have to reckon with the great waste in human personality which accompanies all forms of social maladjustment.

DR. HAROLD RUGG (U.S.A.): *The New Psychology and the Child-Centred School*

Fortunately, as we approach the gigantic task of building a new education for a new social order, we do not start from scratch. Our fathers passed on to us more than staggering social problems to solve. They bequeathed us a new psychology and a new sociology as well. By the turn of the twentieth century they had accumulated a vast body of documented evidence in support of several revolutionary ideas.

The first was the idea of growth. Both individuals and societies came to be conceived of as growing organisms, not as 'created whole' by some other-worldly force. All life was regarded as *growing*, and growth was continuous from birth to death. As John Dewey put it: 'Since growth is characteristic of life, education is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself. . . . Growing is not something which is completed in odd moments; it is a continuous leading into the future.'

This concept of life as growth, then, gave pioneer psychologists and educationists their cue for the reconstruction of their ideas of child learning and the development of the curriculum. Increasingly education came to be visualized in terms of growth—physical, intellectual, emotional, moral. The criterion of excellence of an educational system was: Does it produce a constant tendency toward maximum growth?

To appreciate the full significance of this concept for education, however, we must understand two other correlative ideas. One is the idea that meaning grows through the active

response of the individual. The other is the idea that both in structure and in behaviour the human being is a whole, an integrated organism.

The idea of the active character of experience has been perceived periodically by many students of earlier civilizations and previous centuries. But in the milieu of the scientific documentation and discussion of the growth concept, it was rediscovered and clarified as never before in recorded history. Although many Europeans and Americans made contributions to its understanding, three clarified it more than all others—Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey.

Central to their theory was the concept that meaning is built up through active experience. The thesis was brilliantly illustrated that 'education is for behaviour and habits are the stuff of which behaviour consists.' The concept of active learning was generalized recurrently by such a statement as one of James: 'Experience is never yours merely as it comes to you, facts are never mere data, they are data to which you *respond*, your experience is constantly transformed by your *deeds*. . . . The simplest process, the most elaborate scientific theory, illustrates how man never really finds, he always co-operates in creating his world.'

Following Peirce, James, and Dewey, educational workers could build their practical programmes in the twentieth century on the principle that meaning arises out of the *active* experience of the individual and that experience is a continuous stream of minute, complicated, integrated responses. Learning is making responses. We respond actively, *with* meaning; we do not passively 'acquire' meanings, by some mysterious process, from the environment about us. We have a meaningful experience only when the organism makes an *appropriate* reaction. The educator can bank on this, then—the learning child is the active child.

Consider a genetic example—how the infant learns a concrete meaning like 'ball.' From his first contact with it all his sensibilities enter into the building of meaning. He

learns to hold the object in his hands, making the appropriate physical adjustments of muscles and joints. Eventually many tactal reactions, integrated with the response that his eyes make to the shape, bring him to express and to understand the meaning of 'round.' This meaning is increased by noting that the ball not only fits into the curved hand but that it also can be rolled on a smooth surface. Other perceptions, resulting from squeezing, patting, and the like, lead him similarly to react with meanings of 'hardness' and 'softness.' As he becomes older, 'ball' becomes to him something that can be thrown, batted, and caught, or knocked about on a tennis court, a golf course, a pool table.

Thus, through countless varied experiences and over a considerable interval of time, the growing child learns to fuse together a multitude of reactions with the single symbolic meaning 'ball.' He learns to say the word and to write it, as well as to think it and to feel it. This is achieved only with the co-operation of the adults about him who give him the word and who teach him the variations and possibilities of response which would not occur to him in solitary play. Thus by an active, inductive, cumulative process a background of experience, a stock-in-trade of meanings, is built up.

But responding with meaning is an integrated process as well as an active one, and the adequacy of the meaning will depend upon the appropriateness with which every trait enters into the total response. This is the third idea that was made clear by a half-century of research following 1870—the concept that the whole organism contributes to the response. We today owe our understanding of this fundamental concept to two groups of students. One included the theoretical philosophers and psychologists, led by Peirce, James, and Dewey. The other, working independently of these, were laboratory students of physiology, endocrinology, neurology, and psychology. These included such leaders as Walter B. Cannon, C. S. Sherrington, G. W. Crile, C. M. Child, Wolfgang Kohler, and others.

From the cumulative theories and laboratory studies of these two groups of students has emerged an understanding of the 'integration principle' of human behaviour. According to it, clear meaning arises, not only through the active response of the individual, but only when the various aspects of the response are, in addition, appropriate to one another. Physical and mental attitudes must fit the intellectual meaning. Facial expression, bodily posture and movement, gesture, idea—all are related parts of the total unified response. In expressing an attitude of fear, for example, the body tends to assume a posture of recoil. Corresponding physical attitudes and movements form the bodily carrier of the meaning; the muscles and joints tremble, become tense, perhaps collapse; the body may be projected into overt movement. A person conveys an attitude of delight by an advancing, or 'going out' posture. In anger the fists are clenched, the teeth are set, and the body becomes rigid.

Thus we respond with adequate meanings only in so far as we adopt the physical and mental attitudes and use the verbal symbols which can produce those meanings. The body may not be seen to move, but the tendency to make appropriate physical adjustments is there. These physiological adjustments, these mental-motor sets of the individual, we call 'attitudes.' It is now believed that attitude is the, or one of the, essential carriers of meaning.

Research in endocrinology, the exploration of the constitution and role of such organs as the thyroid and parathyroid, adrenal, pituitary, and pineal glands, has been one of the most fruitful lines of study. Even before 1800 physiologists had located the thyroid gland in the neck and the adrenal glands in the abdomen, but they did not know what functions, especially general organic functions, such glands exercised in physiological, mental, or emotional life. About the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the part played by these ductless glands in the emotions and in the general physiological behaviour of the individual was revealed

by a slowly accumulating body of evidence. With their successful transplantation of the reproductive glands under the skin of animals, for example, it was proved that these had definite powers over the body as a whole, attributable only to the internal gland secretion. Gradually they established such relations as that between a diseased condition of the thyroid gland and the weight and height of individuals. By the 1890's many direct relations between the condition of the thyroid, pituitary, and other glands and the emotional and physical health of individuals had been scientifically established.

Shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century such scientific physiologists as Pavlov, Sherrington, Cannon and Crile, began to study systematically the action of the internal organs under various conditions of emotional stimulation. They showed, for example, that emotional hysteria in animals invariably evoked in them not only fear and rage but an increased adrenal secretion in the blood; under conditions of pain and other intense emotions there occurred a marked increase in the sugar content of the blood. These and many other results they confirmed by experiments on human beings.

Thus the chorus of emphasis by physiologists on the 'wholeness' of an organism's response has increased steadily during the past generation. The point of view can be summed up in J. S. Haldane's description of metabolic activity as a 'whole' process:

'Such processes as secretion, absorption, growth, nervous excitation, muscular contraction, were treated formerly as if each was an isolable physical or chemical process, instead of being what it is, one side of a many-sided metabolic activity of which the different sides are indissolubly associated.'

Other physiologists and physiological psychologists have made 'integration,' or 'organization,' the very crux of their interpretation of behaviour. Gradually the psychologists, even the behaviorists, came to adopt the same view. Witness John B. Watson's statement: 'The behaviorist is interested in

integration and total activities of the individual.' The psycho-biologist also treats the individual as 'whole personality.'

We need not extend our catalogue of cases or scientific studies any farther. Those which have been given provide convincing documentation of the principle of the whole individual in action. Our educational reconstruction must be based upon it.

Here, then, were three new concepts for a new education:

1. The concept of life and education as growth.
2. The concept of meaning through active response; growth as the continuous reconstruction of experience.
3. The concept of the human being as an organism and of his responses as integrated.

While these studies were documenting the character of individual response, a host of others were slowly teaching educational workers that their new psychology must be essentially social in nature. 'Society'—'the culture'—they saw with increasing clarity, was nothing more nor less than the psychological interaction of two or more individuals. As a consequence of these developments by the close of the World War, a whole new social psychology came into being, the central questions of which were: How does the culture mould the individual? How does the individual change the culture?

Three important agencies contribute to the making of normal social life in the modern world.

There are, in the first place, the face-to-face groups of daily life, the family, neighbourhood, church, school, job, and lodge. All these powerfully mould personality. They continuously influence our minds, form our points of view, model our opinions, beliefs, and general understanding. First, then, are the face-to-face groups.

But the individual is being moulded also by agencies not directly personal. Note, for example, the influence of the daily and weekly newspapers, popular magazines, pamphlets and bulletins, addresses, books. There is likewise the powerful

impact of the radio, with its Amos and Andy, its Father Coughlin, and its Captain Bartlett, its international broadcasts, the tomtom of its interminable jazz bands, and its occasional symphonies and concerts. Note also the shaping effect of the motion picture upon the minds and personalities of fully half the nation; the influence of the newsreels, with the organized propaganda of both government and private agencies behind it; the more or less unrecognised influence of the public-relations counsel; the effect of super-salesmanship, which makes use of the press, the movies, the radio, the billboards that line our national highways, and even airplane sky-writing. These, then, constitute some of the less directly personalized agencies which help to mould the individual and hence to make the culture of the people.

Finally, there is another factor—namely, the climate of opinion of the community—which makes the individual what he is. This subtle psychological influence operates upon us in the face-to-face groups of community, region, and nation; in the conglomerate secondary groups that never meet; and in the total communal life as well. All-pervading is the deep-lying influence of the emotional-mental atmosphere in which we live and have our being. Although it is invisible, it is constantly pressing in upon us, sometimes directly by word of mouth and overt physical gesture, but always in the ever-present, invisible, general tone of the group and community life. These, then, are the three outstanding kinds of agencies which make the individual what he is.

Let us now study a bit more closely the psychology of the process by which the growing individual is formed by the groups about him. A child matures in the midst of family, neighbourhood, and community groups, each individual of which is a unique personality. Each reacts to social situations with certain meanings and generalizations which form his intellectual background. Each has his own conception of the physical and social world. Each holds certain personal views, beliefs, and convictions with respect to people, institutions,

problems of community and national life, and the like. Surrounded by groups of egocentric individuals, each one more or less consciously striving to make over all the others on the pattern of his own image, the child lives his days passing from one little changing group to another. Each reacts to him, and he in turn reacts to each.

Confronted with an overwhelming confusion of stimuli, the child necessarily responds to only a few. The social world is too complex, so from early childhood the individual learns to respond to each complicated situation with a few cue meanings. Through an elaborate procedure of trial and error, from infancy through the years of youth, he learns that he can control the people about him by reacting to them in special and selected ways.

The child or the youth, thus assailed on every side by a multiplicity of stimuli, reacts not only with selected meanings but also with self-defensive ones. He learns to defend himself against the essentially egocentric social world around him. In the midst of group after group of self-centred, aggressive individuals, he himself learns to be self-centred and aggressive. Thus, even before he arrives at the age for school attendance, he has learned to respond to the world about him with a well-organized scheme of self-defensive mechanisms.

Each social contact brings its changes in the points of view and understanding of the individuals involved. Gesture and word together change attitudes, beliefs, and points of view, and modify personalities. All day long, all life long, through constant give and take in changing, overlapping groups, the moulding of the social culture of the people proceeds.

Note, then, the twofold nature of this interaction between the individual and the group. On the one hand are groups of egocentric individuals, exerting pressures, warping, stamping, and labelling the growing child or youth; on the other hand is the growing individual himself, learning to adapt himself to and defend himself against the confusing world. Two opposed kinds of action and reaction; group pressing in upon

the child, child adapting or resisting and defending himself against it. The culture of the group making the man; the man constantly contributing his bit to the remaking of the culture.

One aspect of this interaction between the individual and the group is of great importance to educational workers—namely, the partial, short-circuited character of the meanings with which the responses are made. Man reacts only partially to the social world. He picks conspicuous aspects of character, the striking people and the more prominent features of a situation, the outstanding characteristics of institutions, and reacts to the situations in terms of his reaction to these elements.

First recall how each individual lives the course of his daily life in many different groups. In these groups persons of like interests clique together, standing for similar points of view, defending their own peculiar interests and philosophies. Thus the members of a given group hold the same general attitude, adhere to the same ideas in so far as these ideas are peculiar to that particular group. For example, note the important economic groups—business men organized into Rotary Clubs and chambers of commerce, workers into labour unions, farmers into farmer co-operatives, and the like. Each of these groups tends to stand for a given position in economic matters, although the members of any one group are not necessarily in agreement on political, religious, social, aesthetic, or other matters.

In the same fashion, too, persons of like political interests tend to join the same parties, each one of which stands for the same general position. Religion also tends to amalgamate those of like beliefs into compact 'in-groups.' The selective character of meanings in this process has always led to the sharpest of cleavages, lining up Protestant against Catholic, Jew against Gentile, Christian against Moslem, Buddhist, and any others. In the same fashion racial and national ties tend to align human beings into conflicting groups, setting up as Nordics, Slavs, Latins, Orientals, Negroes, Bantu, what not.

Hence the psychological base of human culture, especially in the infinitely complex and heterogeneous modern world, consists of a confused mixture of points of view, opinions, creeds, beliefs, and the like, organized and stamped and labelled. And as each mind struggles to comprehend this mixture, it gets itself similarly organized. Thus when one individual reacts to another, he sees him not as the mysterious and complex personality that he is; rather he sees him as a composite of traits which he has learned to associate with members of various groups. He pigeon-holes and classifies him under groups, which therefore come to bear abbreviated class names—Jew, Gentile, Christian, Catholic, Radical, Conservative, Negro, Communist, Mason, D.A.R., and the like.

So it is inevitable that the young child, otherwise overwhelmed by this confusing heterogeneity of life, also learns to react to people (and to institutions, to problems, and to theories) with these abbreviated, stereotyped class names. He builds up his own personal idea of what a Radical is; similarly he slowly forms his concept of Liberal, Fundamentalist, Jew, Christian, labour leader, and the like. He builds up concepts for the Bolshevik, the Chinese, the Japanese military, the professional athlete, the banker, the bandit, the Senator, the M.P., the political agitator. Thus, as he reacts to successions of social situations, he does so in the light of his mental pictures, with his classified, emotionally coloured concepts of the points of view, the desirability, and the attitudes toward life of the person or group involved. He does this because he cannot react to the elaborate integration of details which constitutes the total human being or the total situation. He can respond only to those conspicuous phases of the complex situation which obtrude at any given moment.

These facts have great significance for the building of that common understanding upon which democracy is postulated. It is almost inevitable that no two people will select exactly the same meaning with which to respond to the same situation. Hence the concepts that people use in communicating with

one another carry great divergencies of meaning. Hence the consequent difficulty of building solidarity of point of view, of securing universal consent, and of producing joint action. This perhaps will serve us as a single brief illustration of the difficulties which confront those who are trying to make democracy work.

We see, therefore, that we do not actually deal with the real world about us, but rather with a pseudo-mental world of ideas and beliefs. We respond to this pseudo-environment as though it were real, our only possible adjustment being by means of the various substitute and partial meanings which we have invented for real people, real things, real actions. Our fictions, or stereotypes, are the very core of our beings, the defence of our position in society. As Mr. Walter Lippmann has put it, 'We define first and then see.'

On every hand today we note the conflict between the current widespread regime of competition and the need of social co-operation. At the basis of the conflict is the psychological fact that most people, having been brought up in a competitive social world of egocentric persons, become more or less unsocial defenders of their own individuality.

Through careful observation of children's development social psychologists and sociologists have traced this course of self-feeling. Cooley, for example, investigated the manner in which little children developed in their use of the pronouns 'I,' 'my,' and 'mine.' He concludes that the words do not represent to the child his visible and tangible human body but indicate rather a self-assertive feeling or attitude. 'I,' Cooley says, 'is a social concept, the very essence of which is the assertion of self-will.'

Speaking to the same point, the egocentric character of the individual, Robinson says in *The Mind in the Making*:

'The little word *my* is the most important one in all human affairs, and properly to reckon with it is the beginning of wisdom. It has the same force whether it is *my dinner*, *my dog*, and *my house*, or *my faith*, *my country*, and *my*

God. We not only resent the imputation that our watch is wrong, or our car shabby, but that our conception of the canals of Mars, of the pronunciation of "Epictetus," of the medicinal value of salicine, or the date of Sargon I, are subject to revision.'

The social world builds in many a sense of inferiority. Youth grows up assailed from every angle by economic and social pressure. Family, neighborhood group, and community, all co-operate in the everlasting endeavour to put each person in his place, and life tends to become a succession of episodes in conformity. Independence of thought is minimized; loyalty to the ideals of the group is canonized; and as this takes place a sense of inferiority accumulates in each individual. The pressures from parents and from all those who are stronger, more vigorous, more dynamic, upon the less effective individuals inevitably produce a growing sense of inferiority. Constant reminders of dependence and inability in particular directions, the undervaluing of opinions, the ridiculing of questionings, and other forms of adult behaviour, steadily tend to kill the child's self-confidence —hence the self-defensive mechanisms.

Of the many psychological concepts which Freud and other psycho-analysts have clarified, those which deal with the tendency of the individual to defend himself are perhaps most important of all. These psycho-analysts, by carefully recording examples of everyday behaviour, have at last made the 'self-defensive mechanisms' a matter of definite record. These mechanisms are so important in the learning processes of the individual that we should discuss them briefly. The researches of the past generation have produced five fairly distinct examples.

1. *Rationalization.* One form which self-defence takes is known as 'rationalization.' It is the tendency of the individual to give 'good' reasons for the 'real' reasons behind his behaviour. He behaves in certain ways while wishing to appear to behave in other ways to the social groups about

him. Hence he tends to make up explanations or justifications for what he does. In *The Mind in the Making* Robinson explains this trait, with an example:

'I remember years ago attending a public dinner to which the Governor of the state was bidden. The chairman explained that His Excellency could not be present for certain "good" reasons; what the "real" reasons were the presiding officer said he would leave us to conjecture. This distinction between "good" and "real" reasons is one of the most clarifying and essential in the whole realm of thought. We can readily give what seem to us "good" reasons for being a Catholic or a Mason, a Republican or a Democrat, an adherent or opponent of the League of Nations. But the "real" reasons are usually on quite a different plane.'

2. *Compensation.* Closely correlated with this tendency to rationalize our behaviour is that of 'compensation,' sometimes called 'the sour-grapes philosophy.' Indeed, it is frequently impossible to distinguish compensation from rationalization, they are so closely integrated. Studies of behaviour show that between a third and a half of fairly well-educated persons reveal examples of this kind of defensive attitude against loss of self-esteem.

The tendency towards compensatory behaviour reveals itself very clearly in an individual's specific desires to conquer felt inadequacies. It is, for example, the undersized, physically weak man who most often desires to be an athletic leader, while it is the social climber in the lower economic-social classes who craves a family tree. Allport has shown us that there are various ways by which these individuals solve their problems. The weakling may compensate for his defects by building up inner, imaginative pictures of himself as the hero in physical combats. The social climber may similarly create an imaginary family tree with ancestors of glory and high social position. Another compensatory way of coping with a feeling of inferiority is to make up in effort what one lacks in ability; everlasting

perseverance may produce as high attainment as sheer brilliance. Thus many persons of only average intellect achieve the highest of administrative positions. In short, either we find a way of atoning for our weaknesses or deficiencies by rationalization, compensation, or over-compensation, or we take refuge from the real world in a world of fancy.

3. *Substitution.* Another frequent form which tendencies of self-defence assume is the substitution of another kind of behaviour for a repressed or inhibited kind. For example, a person who is prevented from answering back to an economic or social superior vents his reaction in some other and available form of spleen. As Everett Martin puts it, 'He may kick the cat or fire his stenographer.'

4. *Projection.* Still another form of self-defence is known as 'projection.' This is the practice of attributing one's own traits or responsibilities to others. An interesting example occurs in group gossip where, as someone has put it, 'the scandalmonger may enjoy his own rottenness vicariously,' attributing to others the meannesses and faults which he subtly knows to lie at his own door. Groups exhibit this phenomenon of projection as well as individuals. No campaign, for example, is complete without the exchange of accusations about graft and other dishonesty by the contending parties. It is a fairly safe generalization to say that the party loudest in recrimination is the party most at fault. 'Projection' is at work.

5. *Escape.* Closely related to rationalization and compensation is that way of behaving called 'escape.' Consider how few people accept their responsibilities in the social world and face the realities of their situations. Unable to react thus appropriately to actuality, they create, and live in, an imaginary world of irresponsible pleasure. Escape in its most complete form, of course, results in delusions of insanity; then the individual lives entirely in a world of imagination.

Some investigators extend this concept of escape to include group escapes, and regard Utopian societies, experiments in socialized communal life, and the like as examples of escape mechanisms on the part of a very small percentage of people. Is this perhaps one of the chief reasons for the consistent record of failures which these groups have suffered?

To sum up: these, briefly stated, are the outstanding examples of egocentric self-defensive mechanisms of behaviour. They reveal man responding to the intellectual, emotional, and social pressures upon him with a growing tendency toward defence of self. Thus the individual rationalizes, substituting 'good' motives for the 'real' motives of his behaviour; he compensates for his defects; he escapes from realities and responsibilities; he projects into others the traits that he recognises as deficiencies in himself; he is a bundle of egocentric self-defensive mechanisms.

Every educational worker, whether he be classroom teacher, curriculum-maker or school administrator, must build his theory and his programme with a view to serving such individuals as these. Society is essentially the interaction of unique individuals, it is true; but all individuals act in the light of such mechanisms as have been here described.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW EDUCATION AT WORK

DR. SUSAN ISAACS (England): *Recent Advances in Infant School Practice in England*

TYPIICAL infant school practice in England starts from the view that it is the child's own activity which fosters his intellectual and his social and emotional growth; and his activity is directed towards the solving of problems which are real problems *to him*, arising in the natural effort of his mind to understand the life around him, the behaviour of things and people, and to communicate his own feelings and impressions, and understand those of others.

The principle of activity is concretely embodied in all the details of organisation, of environment and of method. For example:

1. *Organisation of the day.* This is very elastic, having only a minimum of fixed times and features—those naturally dictated by the circumstances of a large number of individuals spending the day together, arriving and departing, taking milk or lunch together, using various rooms at different times, entering into co-operative tasks with mutual consideration. The arrangement of the rooms is similarly elastic and adaptable—they may be variously allotted to particular age groups or to particular activities (a silent room,

a workroom, etc.). The need for rest and for a change of setting and type of activity is planned for.

2. *The child's play and natural interests* are the starting point of the school activities. The children tend the room, decorate it, cook and clean, play with dolls and the doll's house and at shops, post office, hospital, journeys, etc. The younger children are left to play quite individually, with completely free choice of materials and mode of play. The natural wish of the older ones for more sustained and co-operative play and for definite instruction and help is met. The school is thus functioning as an interpreter of life to the child.

3. *The equipment* is such as to foster the child's activity. The size and type of furniture, the arrangement of shelves, cupboards and display of materials are all considered from this point of view.

4. *The care of the body* is provided for, and not only for the sake of bodily health, but also for its pleasure to the child and its social and intellectual interest.

5. *The children are allowed to talk normally* to one another and to the adult in charge, to ask questions, to discuss their work, to exchange notions and impressions—in short to live a normal social life, as in a large home. Speech training is carefully given, but is kept apart from the free use of speech for social interchange and the gaining of knowledge.

6. *The children gain a wide variety of experience.* There is provision for many arts and crafts at a suitable level, much opportunity for song and rhythmic movement and verse and dance, for all sorts of knowledge connected with their interests in the home and the community.

7. *The tool subjects* of reading and writing and formal arithmetic develop naturally and in due time from these practical interests. The children gain a considerable experience of number relations in their varied play, both imaginative

play (shops, journeys, etc.) and play with specially chosen material for weighing and measuring and counting. Only towards the end of the infant school period does formal written number work begin, and it is found that the children gain very much by their early informal experience. They maintain positive interest in number relations, in a way which is often lost if formal lessons begin too soon.¹

So with reading and writing. Their play affords much stimulus towards the use of written communications and all but the most backward begin to wish to read at about five to six years, some earlier, some later. Once they have a lively motive, the technique is readily mastered. Much thought and resource, however, is spent in ensuring that the technical details are well grounded. The children begin to want to have their own stories written down, often with an accompanying picture. Individual or class books (on a large scale) are made, and are often of the greatest charm and interest. Printed reading books are only introduced at a later stage, when the child has gained some measure of will and a settled interest and confidence. In the last year of the infant school (six and a half to seven and a half) some classes make a daily record or 'newspaper.'

8. *The general atmosphere of the infant school* is informal and friendly, co-operative and altogether delightful. The children are at home, and move freely and happily among their playmates and their grown-up friends. They show a zest in living, a great pleasure in learning and in the creative art of expression. The teacher is a sharer in the adventure of understanding and living. As they pass from the 'nursery' class for three-year-olds to classes for six- and

¹ Dr. Isaacs recommended the following books:

Roe, Frances: *The Beginnings of Reading and Writing* and *The Beginnings of Number*. Pamphlets published by the University of London Institute of Education and the Home and School Council of Great Britain, 1937.

Richardson, Marion: *Writing and Writing Patterns*. University of London Press, 1935.

seven-year-olds, greater responsibility is given, the amount of technical instruction increases, the standards of work and of behaviour are raised. But even with the older groups of seven-year-olds, there is still a delight in life and in work which preserves the essentially creative spirit of play.

DR. SUSAN ISAACS (England): *Methods and Curriculum, Seven to Eleven Years*

The work of the junior school is no longer regarded as merely preparing for later years or for entrance examinations and scholarships but as meeting the characteristic mental and physical needs of these years of development.¹

The child between 7 and 11 is a lively and vital person, active, curious, eager to achieve real knowledge, delighting in bodily skill and games of mental agility, enjoying rivalry with others and yet strongly influenced by their opinions, more readily loyal to his fellows than to the rule of the adult, critical and observant of grown-ups and yet ready to respect and obey a just and discriminating authority. His interests are concrete—in persons and things rather than in ideas. He still delights in dramatic play—not the simple make-believe of the infant school child, but a more ordered and articulate expression of real experience.

Individual differences in ability and temperament become important, and the organisation of the school needs to be able to allow for these. There should be varied opportunities of work and elasticity of method. There is little place for the subject specialist, since the child of this age is still concerned

¹ Dr. Isaacs recommended two recent books on methods and curricula at this stage: Gardner, D. E. M.: *The Children's Play Centre*. Methuen, 1937. Warr, E. B.: *The New Era in the Junior School*. Methuen, 1937.

with life as a whole; yet full use can be made of any special gifts of individual members of the staff, since the standard of work in art and music and physical training needs to be high—judged by the needs of the children, rather than any academic standard.

The key to method and curriculum has been wisely said to be ‘activity and experience, rather than knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored.’ The work must needs start from the interests of the child in the world around him—in his home and town or country environment, in the primary arts and crafts of life, in the people and surroundings of his own country, gradually widening out to those of others. History and geography which start with immediate experience and expand to remoter fields as the child grows in intellectual horizon, lend themselves well to an active mode of learning—to local studies of shops and transport and farming, to ‘history backwards’ from people and conditions personally known to the larger movements of peoples. Reading, writing and the routine of arithmetic are the means of education, not its ends. There is a place and a necessity for drill, and children enjoy the routine work, provided this is not confused with genuine progress in understanding and appreciation.

Children of these ages have much need for physical activity in games, in free out-of-door play as well as organised games; and for constructive handwork, both individual and co-operative. Handwork can be used in connection with historical and geographical studies, as part of a ‘project’ or ‘centre of interest’; but there is room for ‘making’ for its own sake as well—the technical pleasure of making real things. Nature study, gardening, the care of animals, all have an appeal and an educational value. The children’s pleasure in speech, in dramatic activity, their delight in verse and rhythm, open up the way to English literature—and there is no need to ‘write down’ for children of this age, or put them off with shoddy substitutes for genuine literature. Art experiences should be free and varied and the child should be left to

express himself as he will; but instruction in the technique of the brush or chalk, the potter's wheel, etc., has its place. Music—singing and listening—has its own place, and few children do not respond to its joys. Arithmetic can be appreciated as an end in itself, as well as for its practical uses; but for many children the practical side remains the most significant.

All these aspects of nature and human experience have their place in the school for 7 to 11 years; not as separate subjects of study, but as part of a full life. Since it is life in which children are interested, they learn best by taking some main 'project' or 'centre of interest'—a journey, a visit to the zoo, life on a farm, England in the Middle Ages—whatever it may be, according to the age and ability of the children, and the actual stimulus in their experiences outside the school, or their reading; and working out the various aspects of such a project—reading and reference, the keeping of notes, writing of short accounts of things seen or noted, making illustrative material and pictures, writing and acting a play—whatever be appropriate to the fullest realisation of the facts chosen for study.

Such a method, as the source of the main work of the group, must not, however, be forced to include things that do not fall naturally within it. The chosen project may, for example, have no proper place for the music, the arithmetic, or the craft-work of the term. These must be allowed to follow their own lines where needs be. Method in the junior school needs above all else to be elastic, adapting itself to children and time and circumstances. Sometimes the work will be quite individual, sometimes small groups will work together, sometimes the whole class. And there will be many opportunities for special attention to technique and rules, etc., both directly and incidentally.

Such a method keeps alive the young child's desire to learn and to understand life; it makes fullest use of his interests and his emotions in the service of knowledge, of skill and of social development. The problem of discipline largely solves itself,

since the children are kept actively employed, and their loyalty to their schoolfellows is taken up naturally and used fruitfully.

MR. E. SALTER DAVIES, C.B.E., M.A. (England): *The Elementary School as a Preparation for Life*

The criticism which is most commonly directed against the elementary school is, perhaps, that it fails to give its pupils a sound grasp of the tools of knowledge—the three Rs, reading, writing and arithmetic. A London magistrate, for example, discovers that a youth of 19 cannot read. His comment is that 'this state of things reflects no credit upon our educational system.' Such criticism overlooks two facts of material importance. The critic forgets, first, that there are a certain number of boys and girls who, through some mental or physical defect, are incapable of responding adequately to instruction of the ordinary type. These are often in a low standard when they leave school, or, if in a higher standard, promotion has been due, not to their acquirements, but to their age. Secondly, the critic forgets the rapidity with which a boy of rather less than average intelligence can forget what he has laboriously acquired in school, if he leaves that school at 14 and is plunged into casual employment, or worse still, drifts into street-loafing as one of the unemployed. The true moral which the magistrate should draw is that a considerable proportion of the time and energy and money which are expended upon our elementary schools must run to waste until some means are provided for continuing through the early years of adolescence the education which has been begun in the day school.

Sometimes the criticism takes another form, and the elementary school is denounced because it is not sufficiently

'practical,' because the instruction which it gives is not of a kind which is likely to be 'of use' to the children in their after-life. If this criticism is meant to suggest that in the elementary school too little attention is paid to handwork, there is considerable truth in it. In a very large number of schools in England the facilities for what is generally called practical work are almost non-existent. In many schools the staffing does not permit of differentiation between the child whose interests are mainly literary and the child whose interests lie rather in the direction of manual activity. Nor can this latter type of child be dealt with adequately until there is a much larger provision than at present exists of rooms equipped for manual work. Such provision is being steadily increased, but its extension involves considerable expenditure and considerable reorganisation of schools, and, therefore, must be a gradual process.

Sometimes, however, the critics speak as though they thought that it was the business of the elementary school to give its pupils not only a sound grounding in reading, writing and arithmetic and some manual dexterity, but also knowledge of, and experience in, the callings which they are likely to follow when they leave school. The farmer complains that the boy who comes to him from the elementary school at the age of 14 to work on the land has not been instructed in the principles of agriculture, or the manager of a newspaper office complains that his latest recruit has left the elementary school without acquiring a knowledge of shorthand. Serious reflection must show the absurdity of such a theory. Even in the smallest and most remote rural schools there are children who will enter trades and professions of many kinds. It is not for a moment to be expected that the teacher can give each child specialized instruction devoted towards vocational ends.

The Departmental Committee appointed to enquire into our educational system 'in relation to the requirements of trade and industry' has just issued its report. The Committee

remark that our present elementary school system is in a state of transition. They observe with approval that under the stimulus of the Hadow Report, the self-contained school taking children of all ages is passing away, and the schools are being re-divided into 'primary schools' taking pupils up to about the age of 11, and 'senior,' 'central' or 'modern' schools into which are grouped all the senior children of an area. It is here, says the Report, and particularly in the last year of the school course, that the link between education and industry must be forged. It is interesting and encouraging to note that the Committee find that complaints as to the unsuitability of the present elementary curriculum are generally not substantiated, and that this is particularly so in regard to assertions of pupils' ignorance of English. They do not recommend any drastic change in curriculum, but urge that the provision for instruction in handicraft and domestic subjects should be increased, and that these should not merely be added to the time-table as 'special subjects' but should be correlated and interwoven with the other subjects of the curriculum. They find no reason to criticise adversely the work of the schools as affecting the general intelligence and adaptability of school-leavers, but regard the existence of over-large classes and the shortage of provision for organised games as 'grave handicaps.' The Committee also state bluntly that 'authoritative industrial opinion does not want specialized vocational training in the elementary schools,' and they recommend that no such training be introduced. It would seem that all that can fairly be demanded from our elementary schools is that the instruction given shall be directed towards the development of the pupil's manual skill as well as of his literary interests, and that the methods followed shall be such as will help him to appreciate his natural and social environment.

In the reorganised senior schools in Kent, which is still largely a rural area, there is careful co-ordination of out-of-door observational and practical work in horticulture

and the care of animals with the experimental and instructional work of the classroom. The object is not so much to give the boys a mastery of the technical operations of agriculture as to develop in them an interest in, and a love of, the countryside and all that it means—the earth, its trees and flowers and grasses; the beasts of the field and the birds of the air, their care and companionship; seed-time and harvest, and the various duties which belong to the recurring seasons. Such lore is of permanent value to everyone, whether he is to be a labourer on the farm or an artisan in the town, and he who does not possess something of it, whatever be his material wealth, is a poor man. This is only one instance out of many which might be given of attempts to adapt the general curriculum of the elementary school to the needs of the locality.

Such local adaptation is a peculiar feature of the English educational system. The President of the English Board of Education can never take out his watch at a certain hour and say, 'At this moment 100,000 children in the schools are doing arithmetic.' There is no cast-iron curriculum which is enforced from above upon the schools. It is a remarkable fact that in the Code no detailed reference is now made to the subjects of the curriculum. The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desires to see in the teaching in the public elementary school is 'that each teacher shall think for himself and think out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school. Uniformity in details of practice (except in the mere routine of school management) is not desirable, even if it were attainable. But freedom implies a corresponding responsibility in its use.'

It is profoundly interesting to notice that this elasticity of curriculum has the specific approval of the Departmental Committee on Education and Industry. They remark that, before 1901, the teacher was fairly rigidly confined to certain

subjects and the universal system of examinations involved prescribed methods and very limited objectives. In their opinion, the abolition of this system has given a freedom which has, on the whole, been most beneficial. It is, of course, difficult, particularly for the older generation of teachers, to adapt themselves to the new circumstances, but the Committee believe that this phase is passing, and that the individual responsibility which the present system throws upon the teacher is all to the good.

The Board of Education, in their *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers*, deal in detail with the various subjects of the curriculum, but they remark that, while proficiency in these subjects is a necessary outcome of a rightly ordered education, the teaching of the various subjects and the other activities of the school are to be regarded in the light of their contribution towards a general purpose; as means, that is, rather than as ends. 'Preoccupied as teachers must be with means, they sometimes tend to allow the real end of their work to become obscured. When this happens the loss of that inspiration which a strong sense of purpose affords may cause them to lapse into monotony and routine. Or, on the other hand, they may unconsciously substitute means for ends, allowing certain subjects or methods in which they are keenly interested to take the place of their original aims. In that case their teaching may come to lack proportion, or fail in other ways to meet the actual needs of their pupils. Every teacher should endeavour to conceive his main purpose as clearly as possible and should constantly review his actual practice in the light of that purpose.'

These words strike the key-note of the English educational system. The subjects of the curriculum are to be regarded as means and not as ends. Education is, first and last, a thing of the spirit, concerned with the autonomous development of personality, of character, of mind and of will. It is a spiritual growth which is never completed, a condition of the spirit developing as the individual develops. From its very nature it

cannot be imposed from without against the will of the individual. The school curriculum is, therefore, but a means of helping pupils according to their capabilities to realise themselves and to develop a living culture. Literature, science, art, handicraft are effective instruments of education only in so far as they succeed in quickening the individual spirit. Hence it is that the library, the garden, the workshop, the playing-field, may one and all succeed or fail as educational means. Only that has educational value which has meaning to the pupil and helps in the development of his personality.

All through the school course, with senior children as well as with junior children, we need to concentrate our attention more upon the living subject who is being educated and less upon the abstract subject which is being taught. There is only one real subject of instruction, and that is the individual child.

I should like to set up in every school the Shakespearian quotation, 'No profit grows where is no pleasure ta'en,' and I am sure that in doing so I should win the approval at least of the pupils. Its application would drive some teachers out of business. I can anticipate the objections of those who would urge that to make school work pleasant is to remove all incentive to hard work, to deprive our pupils of the discipline of drudgery, and so to send them out into the world ill-prepared for the battle of life. This is a shallow criticism. I know no way of escaping drudgery, but there is a world of difference between the drudgery that is willingly undergone for a clearly conceived end, and the purposeless unmeaning drudgery which in some of our schools still occupies so large a part of the precious school hours. Nor can I conceive of any worse preparation for life. Accumulation of dead facts, even if they pay in examinations, are an impediment to the growth of mind, and school tasks which have no meaning to the pupils cloud and warp their spirit.

Curious results follow from our forgetfulness that our division of knowledge into subjects is a mere creation of barriers which have no real counterpart in the outside world.

I have heard of children who, during a lesson in history, failed to answer a certain question. When the answer was given to them by the teacher, one replied, 'Oh! I knew that, but that is not history, that is geography.' I have heard of schools where the answer to the question, 'Who was the wisest man who ever lived?' would be, before 9.30 a.m., 'Solomon,' and after 9.30, 'Solon.' You may remember too, the story of the teacher who was shown a fossil by one of his pupils. 'I suppose,' said the child, 'this is as old as the creation.' 'Oh!' said the teacher, 'it is much older than that.' This departmentalising of knowledge is a great danger, and somehow or another we must break it down if we are to get adequate results from all the money and effort which we are now expending upon our schools. Such departmentalisation is fostered and aggravated by the influence of examinations, which set an entirely fictitious value upon the power of remembering and reproducing specialized information.

The power of remembering and reproducing facts is of very real value, but, unfortunately, examiners have not yet discovered a method by which they may clearly distinguish between information which has been assimilated and information which has been merely stored for reproduction. It is said that knowledge is power, but knowledge of the latter kind is not only not power, but positively detrimental. Of all the subject-matter with which we deal in school, only that is of value which the pupil can relate to the knowledge which he already possesses, and can weave into the stuff and fabric of his own personality.

When I was a boy at school I spent considerable time during the history period in mastering the details of the warfare which took place between those two parties in England which were known as Yorkists and Lancastrians. I knew the names of all the battles, and, since I was given a mnemonic by which to remember them I can still state them, I think, with perfect accuracy. The mnemonic was, 'All boys now will mention all the horrid, hateful, battles that befell'—the first

letter of each word being the same as the first letter of each battle: St. Albans, Blackheath, Northampton, Wakeford, Mortimer—I could go through the whole list. I cannot forget those battles, though the knowledge of them is, always has been, and always will be entirely useless to me. My limited mind has been encumbered with the lumber of futile knowledge.

The Director of Education for Victoria, Mr. Tate, told me, when he was in England some years ago, that he once went into a school in Fiji and heard the native children droning out, 'The Lofoten Islands are off the coast of Norway.' The teaching of geography has improved greatly in the last twenty years, but to many men and women of my generation almost all that remains of the geography teaching which they received at school is a meaningless list of names of capes and rivers and mountains, and so forth. Mr. Tate told me of another school in a district where the inhabitants were almost entirely occupied with the collection and sale of copra. He found the children doing the sort of arithmetic which we associate in England with the name of Smith—examples in stocks and shares, and so forth. He took some of the senior boys into a neighbouring barn where there was a stock of copra, and told them to weigh out a certain quantity. This was not the sort of arithmetic to which they were accustomed, and, though the operation was a simple one demanding no great amount of calculation or of skill, they were utterly incapable of dealing with it. Their school work had not only not prepared them for it but had rendered them powerless.

Many of our text-books in arithmetic are still over-weighted with sums far removed from the realities of daily life. Readers of Mr. Anstey's *Vice Versa* will remember how the city merchant, transformed by an unkind fate into the person of a schoolboy, was disgusted by 'the glaring improbability' of the arithmetical problems he was set to work out at school. As Mr. F. J. Gould remarks:

'Intricacies of arithmetic and severities of mathematical study belong to certain vocational apprenticeships, and youth, in view of honourable and useful careers, will cheerfully endure the necessary tasks. But those arduous ways are for adolescence to tread. Earlier years should be free from strain of that character, and arithmetic should imply a pleased appreciation of order and harmony in general, and a personal aptitude for the simple reckonings of ordinary experience and for understanding the broad issues of civic and national finance.'

The object of the teacher of English is to teach boys and girls to read with understanding, discrimination and pleasure, and to express themselves, both in speech and in writing, correctly, clearly and agreeably. These aims are often obscured by the undue emphasis which is placed upon formal exercises in English grammar. The great aim of securing concrete appreciation is forgotten. Formal grammar is treated as an end in itself, when it should be regarded only as a means of enabling the student to appreciate the construction of a sentence and the function of words, and to understand and avoid common mistakes.

A teacher of history has to make plain to the child the story of the society in which he lives. The details of legislation, of political and religious conflicts should be dealt with only so far as is necessary 'for an elementary understanding of great changes in national life and of the rights and duties of a citizen of today.' Above all, history teaching should produce in the child's mind a sense of continuity and of order. This picture of the progress of man throughout the ages should be a fascinating story and should bring a realisation of the kinship of the various nations of the earth. In its place, we too often have a wilful distortion of history to serve the purpose of national or other propaganda. The growth of industry, of art, of science, and of social order is lost sight of in a mass of details about wars, some of which, apart from the loss and misery which they caused, have had little or no

permanent significance, and about men and women some of whom attained high positions in the State, without achieving anything of permanent importance. The laborious mastering of facts is useless unless these are related to the living present.

The study of geography, again, should enable a child to understand something of the natural phenomena which condition life upon this planet. It should help him to understand something about the distribution of the peoples of the earth, and to realise their mutual interdependence. Too often, the human interest of the subject is overlaid by a mass of details which are acquired with difficulty and quickly dismissed from memory, because their significance has never been appreciated.

Professor Whitehead in his great book *Science and the Modern World* criticises our traditional educational methods as 'far too much occupied with intellectual analysis and with the acquirement of formularised information. . . . Wisdom is the fruit of a balanced development. It is this balanced growth of individuality which it should be the aim of education to secure. . . . When you understand all about the sun and all about the atmosphere and all about the rotation of the earth, you may still miss the radiance of the sunset.'

The chief danger which our schools have to face is that of allowing concrete reality to be obscured by abstract categories, of putting the body before the spirit, of mistaking the means for the end. The business of the teacher is not merely or primarily to pass on to his pupils such knowledge as he happens to possess, but so to quicken their spirit that, during hours of work and of leisure, they may be able to live with understanding, with honesty and with delight.

MR. G. T. HANKIN, B.A. (England): *Tendencies in English Education*

In dealing with this subject I have at least three methods at my disposal. I can adopt the historical approach and trace the tendencies of English education from the days of King Alfred, who, indeed, was a better educationist than a pastrycook. The simplest method would be to read you the introduction to the Report of the Board of Education for 1937, which traces the history of British education for the last twenty-five years; but I venture to think that you would not want to be drowned in waves of statistics, or even smothered in a mass of information. I prefer, therefore, to adopt what I suppose my psychological friends would call the egotistic method, and to tell you what I have noticed in the last twenty or thirty years—I might say the last forty years—as teacher and inspector.

The mere mention of the word inspector will make it clear to you that I shall be treating tendencies in English education, rather than tendencies in English educational thought. The latter must, of course, precede the former. In a democracy public administration cannot proceed too far in advance of public opinion. The Board of Education—our national Ministry of Education—must not be expected to be in the vanguard. One can only rejoice that it is at the head of the main body.

The tendency to which I would first call your attention is that towards 'ordered freedom.' I know how easy it is to draw applause from an audience of teachers by eloquent references to the freedom of the teacher. Sometimes it is worth while to pause for a moment and consider the difference between freedom and licence. I should define 'ordered freedom' as liberty for each individual to do what he thinks right within his own sphere, and not to wander beyond it. I am speaking now of the components of a system, not of the individual

pioneer. I desire freedom for the assistant teacher, for the head teacher, for the local education authority, for the inspector, even for the national education authority—all within their own sphere. They are all subject to the same rule: 'Only the bound are free.'

Now this ordered freedom has been very difficult to achieve in a system which draws its inspiration from two main currents of thought—the public schools and the board schools, the schools of the governing classes and the schools for the workers. The old classical education, with its tradition of games, with its training in leadership, was an admirable preparation for life for those destined to assume positions of responsibility in the pre-war society, or shall I say, pre-industrial-revolution society. The three Rs, flavoured with religious instruction, and a dose of needle-work for the girls, may have been enough for the worker of the early nineteenth century. Today we are evolving a more truly democratic system, in which opportunity is provided for the children of the poor, and in which we admit the fact that not every son or daughter of the upper-middle or upper classes is destined for administrative positions which require little technical knowledge, or little intellectual training.

The second tendency which I think deserves your attention, and which I propose to expound at greater length, is a tendency to look more and more upon education as a continuous process extending from the cradle to the grave, and to organise accordingly. We have now in England our nursery schools and our nursery classes, our infant schools, our junior schools, and our post-primary schools, where compulsory full-time education terminates at the age of 14, soon to be raised to 15.

From the junior schools emerge two systems, firstly, the secondary system taking children from the age of 11 to 16 or 18. At 16 a boy or girl leaves to enter commerce, or industry, —— one of the professions. If he

remains to 18, as a rule he expects to complete his training at the university or some other place of higher education. There is, in the second place, another clearly defined alternative; that is, to leave the elementary schools somewhat later than 11 and pass into the junior technical or junior commercial schools. These names indicate their purpose sufficiently. From these schools, or, indeed, from part-time evening classes, entered about the age of 14, the worker may pass to higher technical education and so receive the knowledge that is necessary in the higher ranks of industry and commerce. Thus there are now two ladders in existence, with the various steps clearly defined, leading on to higher education. The non-vocational courses and classes that are a comparatively new feature of our system, cater directly for the desires of adults of any age or occupation.

With a system so carefully organised special care is necessary in transferring pupils from one type of school to another to ensure that the right children go to the right schools, and in seeing that the instruction they receive is, as far as possible, continuous and progressive. We are still hard at work trying to discover the best method of selection for secondary education, and the best method of differentiation, so that the junior technical and junior commercial schools shall be filled with those whose aptitudes and circumstances select them as the most suitable pupils. The recent reorganisation of our public elementary schools is an interesting example of our effort to secure a continuous and progressive education suited to particular types of children.

In the secondary schools the most remarkable change in recent years has been the extension of school life. Before a child enters a secondary school the parents are obliged to sign a school-life agreement, now rigorously enforced, according to which they undertake to keep the child at school until the end of the year when he or she reaches the age of sixteen. So much do we believe in a progressive, continuous course,

that we consider it a waste of public money to pay, or to help to pay, for the secondary education of a boy or girl who does not complete a fairly full course in the secondary school, a course, that is to say, reaching up to the level of the school certificate examination.

The effect on the actual teaching has been remarkable. A master now can plan an orderly and progressive course lasting over four or five years, with the practical certainty that the majority of his pupils will complete it. He has, in fact, a definite end to which he can look forward. Once it was common to look upon a term's work, or even a single lesson as a unit. Now, in assessing the work of a teacher I am as an inspector forced to consider not only his skill in handling a class, his personality, and his academic distinction, but also the insight and understanding that he displays in planning a complete and comprehensive syllabus of work. I need hardly remind you that in England we expect teachers to work out their own syllabus, restrained as they may be in certain cases by the needs of the examination. Freedom entails greater responsibility on both headmaster and assistant; but that freedom still remains ordered freedom.

Speaking to an audience of teachers I may perhaps be allowed to 'cut the cackle and come to the 'osses,' to quote the old circus proprietor. The belief that education is a continuous process implies a far greater realisation of the necessity to fit the education of the child to his needs at any particular age. This realisation is expressed with striking clearness in the *Suggestions for Teachers* issued by the Board of Education in 1937. When one compares this edition with that issued hardly ten years ago, one is astonished, not so much at the change, as at the rate of change. You should remember that these suggestions embody the best practice in the schools, and not merely the ideals of the authors.

May I first give you some indication of the general tone of the book? Let us take, for example, the paragraphs relating to discipline: 'It may not be out of place to say that one of the

greatest changes in elementary education in the last half century, lies in the gradual recognition on the part of the teacher that the superiority of the adult over the child is a matter of length and width of experience, and not of moral quality, and that few children are so unreasonable or unmanageable by nature as not to respond to the calmly exercised control of the intelligent teacher who has their best interests at heart. As a result of this change there has been a great decrease in the amount of punishment inflicted, whether corporal or of any other kind. In the best schools, in fact, there is now very little punishment at all, and corporal punishment may be altogether absent.'

May I call your attention to another paragraph? It is headed, 'The Function of the Traditional Class': 'The traditional class, organised mainly for instruction in the three Rs, is the most familiar of all school groups. Classes in school are still necessary, and always will be, but we must be quite certain why we have them. It is their existence as water-tight compartments in the school organisation which is no longer justified.' Consider for a moment the effect of this on the daily life of the school, on the possibilities for children to develop their own personalities in groups of various sizes. Group activities are valuable; so indeed, are individual activities.

One last quotation: 'Individual work itself is a common feature of school work in an increasing number of schools. It must play an important part in infant education, since little children do not learn all at once to act as members of a group; in junior schools, where practice in acquiring skill needs varying amounts of time from child to child, and in senior schools, where the cultivation of individual talents and interests is of vital importance.'

The aims of instruction have for the same reasons been re-valuated. Skills are, of course, still vital. A child must be able to read and write and count and use his hands; 'but it is not enough for a teacher to collect a mass of knowledge and retail it to a class, nor is it enough for his personality to be

strong enough to make the children do what he wants them to do.' This last statement is a hard doctrine, a hard doctrine for the competent and efficient teacher, efficient, I suppose I ought to say, in the worse sense of the term.

Let us translate this into terms of the curriculum. We now desire first and foremost that the child shall grow up healthy. Physical education has replaced physical training. There is no time now to go into details, but I believe you can trace the effects of this best in the attitude of the Board of Education towards the question of home-work, on which subject a pamphlet has recently been published. Skills, as I have said, remain of vital importance, but the knowledge of subjects in so far as it merely consists in the power to reproduce, or shall I say, regurgitate the opinions of the teacher or the statements of text-books, has fallen into disrepute. What we consider of major importance now is the formation of habits and of attitudes of mind.

With these aims in view, what should we expect our teacher of English to do? He will understand that the child is a growing organism, incapable of adopting an adult attitude of mind. Formal grammar will disappear. It will be learned incidentally from the treatment of language as a method of expression of thought. We realise that a child must be taught to speak well, to express his thoughts on paper, and to enjoy literature. We aim at giving him skills and also an attitude of mind. We do not expect him to spell words that he will never use, or to enjoy classical authors far beyond his comprehension.

In history, we believe that local history will give life and reality to national and international history; that the social and economic aspects of history are more suited to the child's understanding than the purely political aspect, and that these aspects will interest him more inasmuch as they clearly affect his daily life.

With regard to geography, let me mention the 'Ship Adoption Scheme,' which appeals to so many schools in

England. A school adopts a ship, gets in touch with her officers and crew, who write to and receive letters from members of the class who follow the ship on its voyages, take an interest in its cargo, both out and home, and so gain interest and knowledge. They even realise something of the interdependence of the modern world by studying this concrete illustration of the work of the mercantile marine.

I could continue through the other subjects of the curriculum, but you will see at once that art and music and manual instruction will rise enormously in importance when the life of the child is considered as leading towards an adult life that will contain far more leisure than at present.

Let me utter two warnings. We do not sacrifice the life of the child to its future, for we understand that childhood is a part of life. Again, we do not confuse the need for close touch with reality and the outside world with technical instruction. We believe that a broad general education should be continued to the latest possible stage. Technical instruction must be postponed until the foundations have been well and truly laid.

You may be feeling that this is merely a sketch of an ideal. You may well be asking if it is all true, if the whole scheme is being carried out. You may be saying also that everything is too beautifully organised and that instead of making a paradise we are really making a parade ground.

As to the latter point, we do realise the dangers. We know that neat administration is often bad administration, that we must be prepared for exceptions and hard cases and fit them in as best we can. And, of course, our system is far from perfect. We should like to spend millions more money in England on education—on smaller classes, more teachers, better training of teachers, better buildings, better playing-fields and better equipment. But in every country there is a limit to national expenditure on education. That limit is set not by the desires of ardent educationists, but by public opinion. 'Ordered freedom' is our motto. The same is true in every democracy. In the end the people must decide, and the

problem that comes before the experts in each country is: if you have the opportunity to spend more money on education, which is the best line of advance? It is not for me to suggest which is your line of advance in New Zealand, but if I may venture to say so, I have no doubt that with your Minister for Education, your officials and your body of teachers, you will choose aright.

REKTOR LAURIN ZILLIACUS (Finland): *A School in Finland*

The school at Helsingfors where I am employed is a school for all stages, from beginners of six and seven to those about to enter the university at the age of nineteen and twenty. We have no nursery stage, but all others, which means in terms of our Finnish education system, two schools, primary and secondary.

The school lies on the outskirts of our capital. The country itself is quite large, much larger than New Zealand. The whole population is three and a half millions, but is not homogeneous. We have two main language groups—I won't say racial groups because I don't quite know what that means—the major group that speaks Finnish and the minority group that speaks Swedish. Who came to the country first is a matter for dispute, and a very fruitful source of dispute it is. Indeed this lack of homogeneity is one of the factors that a school such as ours must take into consideration.

The school is state-aided. This means that while we have a little more freedom than the state schools controlled through the highly centralised Board of Education, we have to give evidence year by year that the courses of study provided in each of our classes are essentially the same as

those given in the corresponding classes of the state schools. We have to devote a great deal of time and energy to the teaching of languages. The ordinary class work of the school is carried on in both Swedish and Finnish, and besides this the children study English, and in the higher classes, German and French. Both the books we use and our time-table must be approved by the Board of Education. In our country teachers must be fully qualified, which means that they have been trained to teach according to the very system which we are trying in some respects to get away from. We are, of course, subject to inspection by the Board, but it is now so favourably disposed towards our experiment that it is adopting a helpful and friendly attitude and giving us as much freedom as possible. We are, however, restricted by the fact that we have to spend our energies on helping our pupils to pass a very difficult matriculation examination in which there are no optional subjects.

Nevertheless, we have one very great advantage over many of the schools in my country—our classes are much smaller. We set out from the start to have smaller classes, partly because I felt that no really good education is possible in classes over thirty-five. The largest of our classes has twenty-eight children, and the smallest twenty. The fees—about £10 for the school year—though high for Finland, do not cover anything like the cost of running the school, as about one quarter pay reduced fees or none at all, and a considerable number have to be given special help to get enough to eat and enough clothes. The State gives us about half the money required. The school, which was established about nine years ago, is a co-educational day school with about 225 children, and it is not going to grow any larger so long as I have any say in the matter, and so long as we have our present buildings.

If you were to come on a visit to the school one morning, you would probably lose your way, because though we are officially in the town, we are actually on the outskirts and

it is not easy to find us. We have a few acres of ground, mostly forest and rock, overlooking an arm of the sea, and the beauty of the situation pleases us very much. We have accumulated enough soil to have a kitchen garden, and a flower garden with quite a variety of trees and shrubs. Naturally, we make every use we can of our natural surroundings, both for study and for recreation. In winter the snow-covered rocks and hills make exciting ski-ing slopes and when the sea is frozen we have an ice-hockey ground. The school itself, an old wooden villa which we bought at a bankrupt's auction sale, was remodelled and now we have quite an adequate building costing only about one-eighth of other school buildings in Finland.

As we enter the school grounds, say at 8.30 in the morning, it is usual to find two orderly queues, one at the school bank and one at the school stationery shop. The bank has its own coinage and a safe deposit for the money of the different customers, and it works by arrangement through a proper commercial bank. The children get their money from the bank and both the bank and the stationery shop are real business undertakings. At 8.50 a.m. business traffic ceases, and we have compulsory morning prayers. I should mention, too, that in our school we have compulsory religious teaching.

From 9 to 10 a.m., as we wander about, we shall find that we are not the only wanderers, for we shall see children in the corridors, sitting on the stairs alone or in groups hearing one another's lessons, or going to or from the school museum and library. In the classroom we shall find light tables and chairs that can be moved about easily. Some children work together in small groups, some sit separately. On the walls is displayed a great deal of the work done—pictures, charts, maps, etc.—and in every classroom a programme of the work the pupils are doing during that first hour from 9 to 10 a.m.

When that hour is up, ordinary classes begin. We have two of them in the morning, then a long break for lunch, two

classes again, and then a final class, after which, at 4 p.m., the children go home. But not all of them go, because some remain to do the sweeping and the dusting of their classrooms every day. Those who stay at school for lunch get a warm meal at cost price, the finances of this service being run by a group of pupils. The clearing away afterwards is carried out by the children, and since we have only one large room, which is our gymnasium, our theatre and our hall for various festivals, as well as our dining room, you can see that there is a great deal of shifting to be done.

In the evening there is no compulsory work, but on most evenings there will be life and activity in the school. One evening the staff meet and discuss immediate problems, plans for the future, or what we would like to do if we were quite free. We are constantly trying to work out an ideal syllabus and ideal methods, and sometimes we find to our surprise that some of the things we want to do we really can do in spite of our limitations. We may find the older children gathered for some sort of social function; we may find some sort of fête arranged for the parents or the children; we may find exhibits of the children's work followed by a parents' meeting. We have regular and organised meetings of parents, sometimes with the object of letting them see an exhibition of their children's work. And on one evening a week we shall find various club meetings being held.

As a step towards the new education we have adopted an individual system, based on the Dalton Plan, which replaces homework entirely except for children who have fallen behind through absence, or for the slowest ones, or the interested ones who give a great deal more time to study than do the others. The children in my country, as in most countries of Europe, are undoubtedly overworked at school, the matriculation taking care of that. The advantages of the new system we have adopted are, we think, considerable. The children do their work under expert guidance; the teaching staff are in different rooms during this period from

9 a.m. to 10 a.m., and the children are free to go from their own classrooms to get help from different teachers, who are likewise free to make suggestions. Individual work also encourages co-operation among pupils, the more advanced revealing themselves excellent teachers of the backward pupils.

The teachers are able to plan ahead and to budget their time reasonably. Of course that means that most of them keep something in the nature of a teacher's work-book, not to show to an outside authority, but to help us plan ahead. With the object of breaking down divisions between subjects, we have replaced the subject teacher as far as possible by the class or form teacher. We have hardly any subject specialists at all except the gymnasium mistress, the music teacher, and the woodwork instructor, who is actually a professional carpenter. As the children grow older we reluctantly divide the curriculum into subjects which are taught by specialists, each being in charge of a group of subjects.

The new scheme solves the problem of discipline and we have very little trouble in keeping order. The period from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m. is so obviously the children's to use as they see fit, that it gives them an attitude towards their work which seems to carry on during the rest of the day. On the occasions that order is disturbed you will generally find that some of the other children object before the teacher does. Further, this sort of arrangement gives them the opportunity of co-operating with one another.

The new method also makes it possible to give art its proper place in the school. It is woven into the very texture of the daily life of the pupils. Most of the subjects call for practical work and whatever is produced, whether it be only a small map or a model, is made as beautiful as the maker knows how. Indeed, much that is produced has high artistic merit.

Much of our work is done by groups which may split into still smaller sub-groups. Just to give you an example, say there is a class studying geography or history. This large

group will most likely want to divide into smaller groups, each of which will undertake to cover a part of the work. One small group may go to the museum, another to the library for research; then when the materials have been collected and digested, the results are laid before the whole group, which thus, through the pooling of projects and discussion, obtains a firm grasp of the whole topic. Unfortunately, we cannot give as much time as we would like to this kind of group work because it does not help the pupils to obtain a matriculation certificate, but we can give a certain amount as it means a lot of reading, many excursions, and much real practice in the job of co-operative citizenship.

Much of the school organisation is run by the children themselves. They are responsible for the stationery shop, the bank, the school library, the setting and clearing away of the luncheon, and the cleaning of the classrooms and corridors. Some of the jobs are run by particular groups in turn, sometimes for a year at a time, as in the case of the bank and the stationery shop. Every fortnight the whole senior half of the school meets to hear and discuss reports on the working of all these school enterprises. The juniors have a group of their own. There is a good deal that each class in the school is responsible for.

We do not have a prefect system as such; our officers have different tasks, and the older ones are responsible for the maintenance of certain standards of behaviour, kindness and helpfulness throughout the school. There is much to learn in carrying out duties such as these, and it is not at all easy. There are innumerable opportunities for things to go wrong, and there are occasions when somebody does not do his or her job very well. But we have gone very slowly in building up this form of self-government. At the meetings, to which I am generally invited, I never interfere, nor do I interfere with a decision that I think is mistaken. I let the children make the decision and act on it, and

sometimes they find that they have been wrong and alter it—and sometimes I find that I was wrong, and by having kept silent, need not admit it!

The various committees have certain limited disciplinary powers. Each crime costs the offender so much, and generally speaking the price is just a little more than the pleasure derived from the crime. There is a court of appeal for anybody thinking the price too high. Serious offences are not generally dealt with by the committees, but when they are, the punishment meted out is some kind of isolation. There is, however, very little punishing. Children who do something seriously wrong in a community where there is general kindness and co-operation must be in some way unwell, and you cannot cure a sick child by beating or by any violent form of punishment. When a child cannot be reformed we ask the parents to remove him, but that happens rarely.

Every two or three weeks, we have what we call an assembly. A group of children or a whole class will invite one or more classes, or a whole group and their parents, to see the results of some of the work they have been doing, and at these assemblies we get a most varied programme. We may have a dramatic presentation of incidents from history or geography; we may have simply an exhibition of work done by the groups acting as hosts; or sometimes a programme in English, French or German. Sometimes we have fêtes and jubilees, and of course dramatic work we consider very important. We do a lot of acting but with very modest equipment—no scenery, no curtain, no costumes. Then we have occasions when the assemblies are run entirely by the children, as a sort of surprise packet; they will produce something, and invite teachers and parents, who will not know what is coming until it is staged. Sometimes it is good, and sometimes not so good. From time to time, too, we welcome in assembly children from other countries.

Sometimes we have an exchange of children with English schools, the visits lasting for a few weeks.

How do candidates for matriculation fare under this modification of the ordinary syllabus? We have been able to take care of that, for this year the results have been highly successful. Much to the consternation of our critics and the delight of our friends, all candidates passed this examination, one of them securing one of the most brilliant passes in the whole of the city.

Undoubtedly our teachers have longer hours and more exacting work than teachers in other schools, but we have taken that into account in their salaries. They are paid more for their teaching hours, and they are paid also for the time spent supervising individual work during the day and attending the weekly evening conference. The payment of higher salaries has made our finances very difficult, but this situation has stimulated the spirit of help among teachers, parents and children alike.

Even if we were free of the matriculation examination, I should still want the school to be a place of serious and strenuous endeavour, as it certainly is now. It is, I think, a happy and friendly community. I know that what we have done is only tinkering in a small way—but it is tinkering that has given us the urge to tinker more.

DR. PAUL DENGLER (Austria): *Austria and Her Children*

The breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire brought about the establishment of the new Republic of Austria. Once the centre of an Empire of 50,000,000 people and twelve different nationalities, Austria became a small and economically weak republic. Yet the same metropolis of almost 2,000,000 people which had served as the political,

administrative, financial and cultural centre for all those nations, remained, under completely changed conditions, the capital city of that republic. One third of the whole population of the country was concentrated in that one city of Vienna. Practically all of the hinterland had gone, most of the resources and raw materials had been lost, and the former market of an Empire was reduced to one for six and a half million people, most of whom had become distressingly poor. The new countries which were cut out of the body of the old Empire by the peacemakers of St. Germain surrounded themselves by high tariff walls.

From this situation there flowed inevitable consequences. First of all, the new Austria experienced great economic hardship. An ever-increasing inflation wiped out most of the fortunes of the wealthy classes—the value of the currency was gradually reduced to one fifteen-thousandth of what it was in pre-war days. The shortage of food was alarming; for weeks at a time many formerly well-to-do families saw no meat on their dinner table. There was no heating in the flats during the severe winter of 1918, or in the following winter, because coal could not be imported. The little that was left was used to run a few trains a week. The second consequence was a more or less complete dependence on foreign nations, especially Italy, which had become one of the great European powers after the War. Czechoslovak and Italian troops threatened to invade the helpless country if it did not accept the hard conditions of the Peace Treaty imposed at St. Germain. Austria wished to join Germany—and claimed that President Wilson's fourteen points implied that every country had the right to decide about its future—but this was forbidden by the victors. The third and most tragic consequence was continuous civil warfare within the country. In Vienna itself a socialist Marxist government came into control based on a two-thirds majority of voters in that city. The peasants in the country who for centuries had followed the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church

remained loyal to their priests. A third political group consisted of those Austrians, mostly belonging to the cultured middle classes who lived in the borderlands near Germany and near the Slavic south, who wanted to bring about union with Germany. In those days the Catholic and Pan-German elements together maintained a slight majority over the socialist group in the new Parliament of Austria. Gradually each of these parties built up a private army of its own. These armies paraded frequently, sometimes on the same day, at the same place, and even at the same hour. Armed conflicts were unavoidable.

Such is the background for the development of education and social welfare throughout the new Austria, and in particular in the city of Vienna. It must be said in all fairness that the socialist government of Vienna showed itself able to deal with an extremely difficult situation. Very unfortunately, however, dogmatic Marxism had induced the socialists to preach class warfare, and to look upon the *bourgeois* classes as their enemies. Class antagonisms developed which led later to bitter fights and even to bloodshed in the streets of Vienna. This brought about the final victory of the conservative element, under Chancellor Engelbert Dolfuss. The start, however, which the socialist government made, and its achievements in the field of social welfare and education were remarkable, especially in view of the situation in which the new Vienna found itself. The city government made up its mind that Vienna should not become a city of the past where the grass grew in the streets, a museum for tourists and nothing else. It immediately went to work and developed an astounding programme for the social welfare of the working population, and especially for the children of Vienna.

Before the War the poorer classes of Vienna had suffered from rather bad housing conditions. Sometimes two or three families lived together in one room in a damp basement of a house which on the outside looked quite impressive and contained nice flats for those who could pay for them. The

socialist government now embarked on a housing programme which included the building of approximately 6,000 flats a year, and by the end of its regime there existed about 50,000 such flats in community houses located all over the city. Today there are nearly 300,000 people living in these flats. The dwellings are beautifully built; and there are flowers before every window, and spacious courtyards, with lawns and benches. Many of the community houses have a swimming pool, a library, and a kindergarten—some even a dental clinic. Nurses take care of the children when the parents go to work in the morning, and prevent the little ones from running around in the streets without supervision. Most of these community houses are equipped with a central laundry with electric washing machines. The rents in the workers' dwellings are very low, generally not more than 30/- a month for a two- or even three-room apartment. Over a hundred kindergartens have been established where the children can be left from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. and receive breakfast and lunch. They are supervised by trained teachers and live in a beautiful environment with all the facilities of the modern kindergarten. Their parents pay not more than half-a-crown a week for the service; if they are too poor to pay even this modest sum their children are accepted free of charge.

There are now in Vienna twenty-two large public bathing institutions—one of them, situated in the heart of the workers' district, is a real palace of hygiene. There are numerous libraries, dental clinics and continuation schools, the latter considered the finest in Europe. And there is a unique temporary home for children, a kind of clearing house, where children are brought by their parents for mental and physical examination. After a stay of several weeks they may be sent home or to one of the many children's sanatoria or vacation colonies, or to special homes or schools. Over 20,000 children were fed by the City of Vienna each day during the worst times and 37,000 delicate children received special treatment. Every summer more than 40,000 poor children were sent to the

country where they stayed in camps and permanent buildings among the beautiful mountains and lakes of Austria.

Particular attention was paid to pre-natal care and infant welfare. Thirty-four mothers' advisory committees were established, and every woman who came for medical examination during the third or fourth month of pregnancy was entitled to receive a bonus when her child was born, and, in addition, a complete layette, which cost the City almost £4. By such medical supervision the City successfully fought the spread of hereditary diseases, and checked the ill effects of the under-nourishment which had been so widespread among the generation of children born during and immediately after the War.

The funds for the social welfare activities which I have mentioned, and for many others, came from different sources. Part of the money was raised by severe taxation. Every luxury was heavily taxed: there were heavy entertainment taxes, hotel taxes, taxes upon luxury stores and first-class restaurants, high taxes on automobiles. Real estate and businesses were also taxed; and there were special apartment taxes which had to be paid by everyone owning a flat in one of the more elegant districts of Vienna. The City, furthermore, has always had other sources of revenue. It owns much of the land in and around the city, provides the gas, electricity and water, runs the street cars, has a monopoly of funeral undertaking, and even owns a large brewery.

The criticism levelled at the government by the more conservative people and by their political opponents was always that the expenditure of the new city administration on social services was extravagant, and more than a small and poverty-stricken country could carry. It was felt by some people that in providing social services so lavishly for the working classes the administration had been partly motivated by the desire to maintain and increase the number of votes for the socialist ticket. Though it may be true that the criticism was not always unjustified—and certainly very heavy burdens

were placed upon the middle classes and the so-called wealthy classes—it must be admitted on the other hand that the administration was successful as a whole. There was strength and vision in its programme, and among its leaders there were men of ability and integrity whose devoted services are still recognized by the people of Vienna whatever their political views may be.

The second step which the government of Vienna took immediately after the War was the establishment of a new system of education. It is not too much to say that education throughout Austria, and especially in Vienna, went through a real revolution. The old education had been a dry, formal, standardized business; all its stress had been laid upon the intellect; there was no room for creative self-expression and the emotional life of the child was neglected. Its spirit was individualistic and competitive and there was little or no place for co-operation. There was, furthermore, a sharp distinction between the education of the lower classes and that of the more privileged classes. Almost ninety per cent of the people received an education which was mainly confined to a fairly sound training in the three Rs, and which came to an end at the age of 14. Only about ten per cent received secondary education at a *Gymnasium*, an eight-year school leading to the university and technological institutions of university rank. The new regime believed that much of this must be swept away and something completely different, and adapted to the new environment of the Austrian child, put in its place. The new school, so it was thought, should put the emphasis upon the emotional life of the child and his creative abilities. School life should be a collective one, which meant that children as well as teachers should form school communities and work on 'projects' in co-operation. Furthermore, children should no longer be turned out to a standardised pattern, but a way should be opened for wide experimentation in all fields.

The administration of the new system provided striking examples of the change which took place. Formerly the

Minister of Education had usually been an administrator of high social rank, who had had no close contacts with school life and had certainly not been a teacher himself. In the new Austria after the War the first Minister of Education appointed, Otto Gloeckel, was a former elementary school teacher who had become one of the leaders in the socialist city government of Vienna. Being a member of an extreme radical party and a leader in political affairs, Gloeckel was much involved in the bitterness and strife of party politics. Some people, therefore, considered him merely a politician and a demagogue. Apart from the narrowness of his political dogma he was, however, a man of strong character and great ability, and above all an enthusiastic teacher himself. During his administration as Minister of Education several 'departments for educational reforms' were established in his Ministry. Distinguished scholars and practical educators were called into those departments to work out the practical application of the new theories in education. One department was devoted to the reform of primary education, another to the reform of secondary education, and some time later a third for physical education was established. The reform of university study, however, was not undertaken at that time but much later when the socialist group went into Parliamentary Opposition. On losing his portfolio, the dynamic Gloeckel became President of the Board of Education in the City of Vienna, which remained under socialist control until the revolution of 1934.

The reforms in secondary education were from the beginning not very radical. The universities were strongly on the conservative side, and were too important to be ignored. The main secondary school reforms consisted in some changes in the curriculum as a result of which the humanistic studies were given a little less emphasis and the natural sciences, especially biology, a little more. Furthermore, the strict division between secondary schools, leading to professional studies, and the higher primary schools, leading to vocational schools

or to practical work in crafts and trades, was given up for some time.

The real revolutionary transformation, however, which made the new education in Austria known over the world, occurred in primary education, which dealt with the period from six to fourteen years in two cycles of four years each. The first principle on which the new education was based was that the immediate environment of the child should be the starting-point in his education, and that there should be no break between life at home and at school. The child entering school should not, it was held, be made to feel that he was going into another world of abstract thinking, duty and hardship, a world divorced from his everyday experiences and joys in the home. On the contrary, the transition to the more difficult stages of learning should be made gradually, and the child's early education should be based on his interests in the home environment and his surroundings generally.

The second principle—the concentration of subjects on the lines of the 'project' method—meant that there should no longer be rigid time-tables or departmentalized study during the first four years of the primary school. Certain 'centres of interest' were to be built up around which different subjects would be organized in such a way as to make learning pleasant and interesting. The children would actually go to a grocer's shop, to a public park, to a railway station, or make an excursion into the country, thus gaining first-hand experience which would provide a centre for their school activities. A visit to the tailor, for instance, could provide the main theme for a week's work in mathematics as well as in reading, writing, craftwork and even geography and history.

The third principle was that of the self-activity of the child, as opposed to mere listening and being taught. This meant that the teacher should keep in the background wherever possible, and that the children should be permitted and encouraged to carry on their own discussions, and make their own discoveries, with only such guidance from the teacher

as was essential. The teacher should not follow a rigid programme but should be concerned only to see that a certain amount of work was done within a certain time. The content of the curriculum for any week would not be determined beforehand—for it was to be life itself, events in the school as well as in the great world outside, which provided that content.

To introduce and establish these three principles of the new education some of the most gifted teachers in Austria were given special demonstration classes. In these classes they gained experience of the practical application of the new ideas, while their fellow-teachers watched them at work. Later the observers themselves were given a chance to work in such classes before they went back to their own schools. A library containing a large number of books on new ideas in education was established and soon came to be considered the largest and most up-to-date of its kind on the Continent. Furthermore, vacation courses, teachers' communities, conferences with the inspectors, and all kind of summer courses were organised. Several new educational magazines made their appearance. A Pedagogical Institute with a model school attached was established by the City of Vienna and gave courses in the late afternoon and evening for those teachers who wanted to learn more about the theory and practice of the new education.

In the schools punishments were largely abolished, and so was homework. All the afternoons were kept free for organised games and recreation, and once a month there was a so-called 'hiking day' on which the whole school—children and teachers—went for a day's excursion to the country. School books were supplied free of charge—they were beautifully printed and illustrated and charmingly written—quite the best of their kind in the whole of Europe. Such an entirely new system of education made it absolutely necessary to trust the teacher and to grant him a great amount of freedom. Though 2,000 teachers were superfluous after the War on account of the decrease in the school population caused by the fall in the birth-rate, not one of them was dismissed. The size of classes,

however, was reduced to a maximum of 29 pupils. The teachers were well paid and received after 35 years of service a pension equal to approximately 90 per cent of the salary received during the last year of service.

There is no doubt that the new education in Austria aroused great enthusiasm among the followers of socialism. But even those who did not agree with socialist doctrines joined willingly in the venture. The clearest proof of the success of the experiments was given when, after a trial of six years, the question of continuing the new system of elementary education was submitted to a general vote of the teachers. They decided by an overwhelming majority that they could not even imagine going back to the stiff old type of 'sit-stillery' school! With some modifications and compromises, the new system was established by law in 1926, and is in a general way still maintained today for the beginners' grades, in spite of the political changes which have taken place. The modifications and compromises can partly be explained by the financial difficulties which continually beset the City of Vienna. The expenditure on the new schools had been extraordinarily high. Another reason was that teacher training as a whole was not reformed as rapidly as the pioneers of the new education desired. The secondary schools especially remained greatly handicapped by exacting university requirements. The university felt itself responsible for keeping up the high reputation of academic life in Austria and did not favour radical new experiments, even at the primary level. Furthermore, a system of the kind described needs exceptional personal qualities in its teachers. In the hands of an incompetent teacher, or one who does not grasp the real meaning of self-activity and the concentration of subjects, there is a great danger of superficiality—nothing is more useless than a mass of half-understood facts and phrases, gathered here and there, without any definite plan. The old-fashioned logical treatment of a subject by a well-trained teacher will give far better results. Whatever the system, a good teacher will get a good

response from the pupils, and it is certainly not true that there was no happiness and sense of achievement in Austrian school-rooms of past generations. And no matter how fine his ideals, or how much freedom he is given, a poor teacher will spoil everything. To my mind, the right way in the new education lies in the middle, between the two extremes. We must avoid the old 'sit-stillery,' but we must also realize that wide and sound knowledge is indispensable. In the new system the teacher is by no means superfluous, but more necessary than ever.

Political bitterness in Austria led from one conflict to another, to fights in Parliament and even to street riots. The socialist party, which had never had the support of the majority of the people of Austria, saw itself gradually weakening. In Italy and Germany fascist states had come into existence. The continued financial depression, and the increasing unemployment, made it hard to continue the expensive programme of social services. Finally, when the young and energetic conservative, Chancellor Dolfuss, took charge of the government of Austria, the socialists felt that this might mean the end of their power. Indeed, one privilege after another was taken from them. Finally, they felt themselves driven to despair. Wanting to preserve their power in Vienna, which, as they saw it, was *their* city, and of which they were so proud, they went on a given signal into the streets to fight for the continuation of their power. In bloody fights they were defeated by the government which was supported by the army and the police. Some of their leaders were put in gaol, others escaped from the country. The conservative element established a regime on a corporate basis and following the principles of the Roman Catholic Church. The democratic institutions of post-war days were abolished. This change in the political aspect of Austria has brought about a number of new changes in the field of education, which I have described in the 1937 *Educational Year Book* of Teachers College, Columbia University, in an article on 'The Last Ten Years of Education in Austria.'

CHAPTER V

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOME SPECIAL FIELDS

DR. CYRIL NORWOOD (England): *The New Conception of Physical Education*

I DO not propose to deal with rival systems of physical training but to consider the place of physical education in the general scheme. I would remind you that in Ancient Greece where the physical ideal was highest there occurred also a miraculous intellectual blossoming. There was a clear division of Greek education into Music and Gymnastic; and Plato says that more trouble was taken to select the trainer of the body than the teacher concerned with intellectual matters, for the dominant aim of education was the formation of character through bodily culture.

After the downfall of Greece this ideal of physical culture faded and was eventually lost. The Romans were not interested in ideas or ideals, and with the advent of Christian asceticism came the doctrine that the flesh was only evil. I do not think that contention exists in the Gospel but it smothered previous conceptions and vilified the body. From that time dates the tripartite division of personality into body, mind and spirit, the body being given by far the least importance. This contempt for the body has been potent in shaping our present system of education. Indeed, the comparative neglect of physical education continued until

recent times as is evidenced in particular by the long hours of study in schools and the dreadful conditions of child labour during the industrial revolution.

No organised games were known in the schools of England until the middle of the nineteenth century—the development was much later than is often supposed. The prevalence of rounders and fisticuffs at Eton at the close of the eighteenth century could have contributed but little to Wellington's alleged debt to the 'playing fields' of this famous school. The first football game between Eton and Harrow played about 1860 proved so rough that it was six years before another game was played. Thereafter, however, games in England developed rapidly until what was called the 'tyranny of games' reached its height at the end of the century. As a means of physical education the system was haphazard and unscientific, leading to the eminence of the few rather than the well-being of the many. A great deal of nonsense has been talked about the effect of these games on character, though they have done something to produce health, vigour and stability.

But if things have now improved in our Public Schools, I am not so happy about the state of the general public. Assisted by the newspapers, we have passed into a period of glorification of sport, and we live in an atmosphere of test matches. The development is very one-sided. We look at the fine new records and then we look at the mass of the population—there is obviously something wrong.

For the physical well-being of the race it is necessary to go back and take inspiration from Greece. Bodily culture holds a place in education by its own right and it justly claims as much attention as any other part of the curriculum. What we need, I believe, is a new conception of education as containing three provinces: first, the training of the body to health and fitness; second, the training of the eye, hand and ear, by art, music and handicraft; third, academic training for life and citizenship. The first of these is clearly fundamental, and it should be emphasised that the purpose

is moral, to strengthen personality, by producing alertness, initiative, quick response, self-control, self-confidence and poise. But while this is the fundamental aim of physical education it can be achieved only on the basis of good nurture, which must begin at the ante-natal stage and include attention to right diet, proper cooking, and the value of sunlight and open air throughout the whole of life. In primary schools a regular programme of music, singing, dancing, games and exercises should be followed, and teachers should be thoroughly trained to make the most of it.

In the post-primary course for children up to the age of 16 there should be for every school a doctor who is interested in physical education, and a competent physical educator. Strict and recurrent medical examinations are necessary, and remedial exercises should always be available. At present boys of all types in English Public Schools are given the same exercises by former Army instructors, which is unscientific to the point of absurdity. Children showing equally wide mental differences would never be given the same intellectual fare. A considered scheme of regular training, setting standards suitable for the normal child at successive stages up to the age of 16, is necessary. Classes going to the physical instructor in a group should be redivided for exercises on the basis of physical development. Physical education should be given every day: more good results from a short period of training daily than from longer periods twice weekly. It will be said that you cannot upset a school time-table; but you can, and by doing so you show that you regard physical education as being as important as any other part of the curriculum. The subject should be taken as seriously and scientifically as mathematics.

The scheme I have outlined cannot be put into immediate operation. It calls for much research, in which the medical profession should play a leading role, since true physical education is one of the most important forms of preventive medicine. A university professor, and a faculty, of physical education are also necessary, both for much-needed research,

and for providing really competent teachers. A three-year course should be organised which would include a study of human anatomy and physiology, psychology, and the systems of physical training. Graduates should take their place in the school on an equal footing with other members of the staff. Shorter courses should also be available for non-specialists.

I have no wish to abolish organised games, for I believe that a virile nation can never be produced without games in which there is an element of danger. The main disadvantage I see in the Swedish system is the remoteness of the possibility of physical injury. Rugby football is particularly good for boys, but all games should be encouraged.

Physical education should be thought of in terms of a large national policy the ideal of which is health and fitness. The cult of the open air should be encouraged in every way; there should be ample provision of playing fields; and each town should have a municipal gymnasium after the Greek pattern. In countries whose population is not dense, and where cities are comparatively small, I would appeal for a more restricted use of mechanical transport. The United States has highly specialised athletes, hordes of spectators, and a motor-car civilisation.

I do not want to see anywhere in the Empire the spectacle of ten thousand children doing the same thing at the word of command. That may be very impressive in a fascist or communist country. We do not want mass physical education in ignorance; we want physical education of the mass by the development of the individual. Education can save democracy, and only education, and in that education must be given a fair place to physical training of the individual for the physical welfare of the nation. We must show the world that we can produce better results than those in countries that have compulsory mass physical training and tyranny.

MR. E. SALTER DAVIES, C.B.E., M.A. (England): *Physical Education and the Universities*

We take it for granted that we want in our educational institutions to produce *mens sana in corpore sano*—a healthy mind in a healthy body. We then proceed to arrange our courses of instruction with the sublime assurance that, whatever their nature, that end will, somehow or other, be happily attained. The end is not to be attained so simply, nor will it ever be fully attained so long as physical and mental education are regarded as two separate things—so long as the training of the body is regarded as an isolated branch of education relegated to the playing-field and having no integral connection with the training of the mind.

The Committee of the British Medical Association, in their Report on Physical Education, issued in April, 1936, say that 'the aim of physical education is to obtain and maintain the best possible development and functioning of the body, and thereby to aid the development of mental capacity and of character.' This definition places physical education in its true relation to education as a whole. The true end of education is not knowledge but wisdom. 'Wisdom,' says Professor Whitehead, 'is the fruit of a balanced development. It is this balanced growth of individuality which it should be the aim of education to secure.' The Report of the British Medical Association lays this same stress upon balanced development. 'An educated body is a balanced body, just as an educated mind in the true sense is a balanced mind. Balance of body, mind and soul should go together and reinforce each other, and the perfection of balance—bodily, mental and spiritual—can be the only true and scientific aim of education.'

This ideal runs through educational theory from Plato to Whitehead. Yet, in practice, it has often been forgotten. Certain schools, both of Eastern and of Western thought,

have regarded the body as something to be mortified and kept under, in order that the soul may be free to see clearly the heavenly vision. Even where this extreme view has not prevailed, the education of the body has been treated as a relief from, or as a mere supplement to, the process of instruction, rather than as an essential part of that process. For long years it has been altogether forgotten—at least for the mass of the people. The industrial revolution was carried out in England with a disregard for the health, the housing and the feeding of the worker, which now appears almost incredible.

The Committee of the British Medical Association are quite definite in their rejection of the popular view that games, in themselves, provide a sufficient means of producing and maintaining physical fitness. They regard gymnastic exercises as an essential and fundamental part of physical education. 'It is common experience—in fact, a biological law—that the regular use of muscles, joints and nervous structures is a necessary condition of their full development and continued efficiency, while disuse leads to atrophy or wastage.' Games, supplemented by such physical exercises as walking and swimming, are valuable adjuncts, but they leave untouched a considerable part of the field which should be covered.

The expert in games often is physically disharmonious and clumsy. He often shows a marked tendency to deteriorate in middle age, since the games which have, perhaps, occupied his major attention as a youth cannot, for physical or social reasons, be continued in adult life. Moreover, participation in games presupposes a certain standard of physical fitness, and, unless that standard has already been reached, is likely to be injurious rather than beneficial. Generally, it is those who most require physical education who participate least in the advantages that can be derived from games. There are those who hold that in the years of formal education no physical education beyond that provided by the playing

field is necessary. They would, I think, be confounded if they were to realise how small a proportion of those concerned actually participate regularly in organised games. This is certainly true of the elementary school, often true of the secondary school, and very generally true of the university, both ancient and modern. In spite of the progress made since the publication of the Hadow Report, an elementary school rarely has a playing-field large enough to be used by all its pupils. In many secondary schools the use of the playing-field is limited entirely, or almost entirely, to those who are able to gain a place in one or other of the school teams. In many universities, despite the prominence given to games and to such sports as rowing, it is only the minority who practise such activities with any regularity. According to Lord Dawson of Penn, 60 per cent of our youth are still taking no part in physical or recreative exercise. The proportion of adults taking part in such activities must be small indeed.

Many factors have contributed to the recent awakening of public interest in physical education. There is, first, the accumulating evidence of the unsatisfactory physical condition of a large part of the population. This condition is, undoubtedly, due very largely to bad housing and an inadequate or an unbalanced diet; indeed, the present movement to promote physical training is objected to by certain people who argue, and truly enough, that the physical training of those whose bodies are insufficiently nourished is likely to do more harm than good. This is particularly important, as the British Medical Association point out, in the case of unemployed adolescents. No campaign for providing further facilities for physical training can succeed which does not take full account of such fundamental things as the need for improved standards of housing and nutrition.

A second factor is the example of the youth movements in certain continental countries, especially Germany, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. With these movements are

naturally associated unofficial activities, such as walking, swimming, athletic sports, etc., and some of the mass displays of physical exercises which have been made familiar to the British public through the medium of the cinema are particularly impressive. England, too, has its 'youth movement,' though this has not been the subject of solemn Teutonic analysis, nor been dignified with a sonorous Teutonic title. The heterogeneous activities of scouts, ramblers, campers, cycling clubs, etc., are the natural English equivalent of the more formal and more pretentious activities of Nazi Germany.

Another factor has been the rejection, on the grounds of physical unfitness, of so large a proportion of the candidates for recruitment to His Majesty's Forces. This has produced a feeling of disquiet, especially in view of the present state of international relations. This fact has led some people to decry the present movement for the promotion of physical fitness as being nothing more than a 'war stunt.' This is profoundly to misinterpret the facts. The basis of the movement is something very much wider than the desire to get more and better recruits for the Army, the Air Force and the Navy. It is something wider even than the wish to secure a greater measure of physical health for the mass of the people.

There has long been a vague feeling of dissatisfaction with the results of education as it has hitherto been carried out—a feeling that we have, somehow or another, lost the old Greek ideal of the harmonious development of mind and body. We want to recover that ideal and to assert it more effectively in our educational practice. There is, moreover, a widespread revolt against a curriculum which has, in the past, been unduly weighted on the side of academic study and has neglected, not only the care of the body but also the cultural values of art and handiwork.

Our present discontents have been increased by the dismal consciousness that there is a steady drift from the country to the town, and that what is left of our countryside is losing

its old distinctive character and becoming more and more urbanised. We have an uneasy suspicion that our educational methods have contributed to this tendency instead of providing, as they should have done, an influence in the opposite direction. It is significant that the youth movement, with its emphasis upon walking and camping in the countryside, which in Germany began long before the Nazi regime, is strongest in those countries which are most highly industrialised.

In the last two or three years the Board of Education have done their best to arouse in the country a sense of the importance of physical education. In 1933 they published their admirable Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Schools, and their Circulars 1444 and 1450, published last year, have now been followed by the publication of the White Paper which announces the policy of the Government in regard to physical training and recreation. Local authorities are exhorted to provide adequate playing-fields, gymnasia with shower-baths, swimming-baths and physical equipment, including suitable clothing and shoes where the need arises, to appoint organisers of physical training, to assist in the production of teachers competent to deal with the training of the body, and to provide refresher courses for teachers already engaged in physical training.

It is most important, I think, that, when either organisers or teachers of physical training are appointed, they should be not mere specialists in the narrower sense but persons whose specific skill is based upon a liberal education, who understand the organisation of a school and the part which physical education should play in such an organisation. It is generally desirable that they should give part of their time to teaching general subjects and part of their time to physical training. This will help to keep them from falling into methods of routine and will facilitate their absorption at middle age into the main stream of school work, so that they may not find themselves, with ten or more years to go before

superannuation, less and less able to hold their position as effective members of the school staff.

It may even be questioned whether physical education can best be taught in an institution exclusively devoted to that purpose. When the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees decided to establish a college of physical training they deliberately established it in close association with a training college and in a university city. They limited admission, moreover, to qualified teachers. The education of body and mind must go on together. Concentration for a lengthened period upon the training of the body, to the neglect of the culture of the mind, has its own special dangers.

There has not yet been time to grasp the full implications of the White Paper. Compulsion is rejected. 'Admittedly, a voluntary system involves only gradual development, but, none the less, the Government are satisfied that it represents the only method of approach likely to achieve success.' They, therefore, propose that the scheme shall be operated through existing statutory and voluntary agencies. 'A scheme operated direct by the State might secure a greater uniformity of the facilities provided, but it would not achieve its purpose if, as is probable, it failed, owing to its very uniformity, to attract the attendance of those for whom it was designed.' There are to be two National Advisory Councils, one for England and Wales and one for Scotland, and two Grants Committees. These bodies will be provided by the Government with the necessary staff.

In order to stimulate local interest and co-ordinate local effort it is proposed to promote the establishment of local committees—with paid secretaries—representative both of the local education authorities and of voluntary bodies, and of other persons with special knowledge and experience. The Grants Committees will have power to recommend capital grants in aid of projects for the provision of gymnasiums and gymnastic equipment, together with changing rooms and shower baths, and associated club or community centre

accommodation. The Government further propose that a National College of Physical Training should be established. The Government will be responsible for its provision and maintenance, but its administration, subject to the control of the responsible minister, will be in the hands of a governing body. The primary purpose of the College 'will be the training of teachers to organise and undertake recreational physical training, but it should, ultimately, have an influence over the conduct of physical education of all kinds throughout the country. It is contemplated, for instance, that the College should investigate some of the many outstanding problems connected with the physiology of physical training. While the training of teachers for the schools will not be one of the main purposes of the College, it will be utilised for helping to make good any deficiencies in the supply of elementary school teachers or of teachers both for elementary and for secondary schools. Its main function will be to train men, since there already exist a number of specialist colleges of physical training for women.' It is to be hoped that this College will be established in close connection with our own universities.

Local authorities are exhorted, also, to co-operate to the full with such voluntary bodies as the Associations of Boys' and Girls' Clubs and the Central Council for Recreative Physical Training in providing physical education not only for school children but also for the adolescent and for the adult, and their statutory powers in this respect are to be widened.

What part have the universities to play in this great national movement? In the first place, if it is true that physical education is an indispensable part of the educational process, and is so treated throughout school life, it should surely form part of the education of every university student. Even those who argue that physical education at the university stage should be left to the initiative of the individual would, at least, agree that the minimum provision which a university

should supply must include adequate facilities for games, for gymnastic exercises and for swimming, available for all members of the university whether they are able to take part in inter-college sports or not.

From enquiries which I have recently made, it appears that, out of 18 of our leading universities in England, Wales and Scotland, 8 have no gymnasium; while, in most of the others, the accommodation which has been provided is said to be 'grossly inadequate.' University swimming-baths, generally, are conspicuous by their absence. It is gratifying to learn from the White Paper that financial aid towards such provision may soon be available.

At the Fifth Congress of the Universities of the Empire, held in 1936, one of the speakers who represented Cambridge University, pleaded for some benefactor to assist the University to provide what he described as 'vital equipment long overdue—a swimming-bath and a gymnasium for this ancient University.' The University of Oxford is now appealing for financial aid in order that the defects in the provision for physical science and scientific research and in library and museum accommodation may be made good. Those who are making this appeal do not yet appear to realise the lack of the equipment for physical training so vitally needed and so long overdue.

The general absence of facilities for physical education at the universities was brought prominently to the front at the Conference of the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland in 1924 by the late Dr. Adami, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool. He advanced the proposition 'that our British universities must provide no longer a one-sided, but an all-round education, devoted to the due development of mind and body alike.' To this end he argued that it was essential that each university should establish a department of physical training. His main proposals were: (1) the appointment of a well-qualified director of physical training, with a qualified staff; (2) compulsory medical examination

of all students upon entrance to the university; (3) enforcement during at least the first two years of university life of some form of physical exercise, directed or approved by the director of physical training, for not less than two hours a week; (4) the provision of a spacious gymnasium and exercise grounds, and (5) the provision of a swimming-bath and the necessary dressing accommodation.

In 1926, the University of Edinburgh appointed a Special Committee to consider and report generally on the provision of facilities for student athletic activities and their adequate supervision. The Report contained the following passage: 'We see no answer to Dr. Adami's proposition that an all-round education should be directed to the care and development both of mind and body. In other countries, the duty of universities to provide for and secure the physical fitness of their students is widely recognised, and, apart from any question of compulsion, we are satisfied that, sooner or later, the duty will have to be realised and much more fully discharged by the universities at home.' It will be seen that the Committee hesitated to endorse Dr. Adami's proposal that physical education at the university should be compulsory. At the same time, they thought that a good deal of the opposition to the idea of compulsion was based on a mistaken idea of what it implied. Even in the American universities which have gone furthest in enforcing physical culture the students are always allowed to choose the form of exercise which they prefer, and the amount of exercise imposed is very small. They did not think that the enforcement of the minimum amount of exercise necessary for the maintenance of health, which is accepted without question by the students of American and Canadian universities, would be resented and resisted by the students of British universities. The objections to a compulsory system were, in their view, practical rather than theoretical: in particular they had in mind the large body of students who travelled between the country and the city each day and the body of law students engaged

all day in offices. They thought, too, that the cost of the provision of the additional playing-fields and other equipment required made compulsion, at the moment, out of the question. They were of opinion, however, that 'as the benefit of physical culture was better realised and the provision for it improved, the necessity for compulsion might never arise.'

As a result of the publication of this Report, a Director of Physical Education to the University of Edinburgh was appointed in the person of Colonel Ronald Campbell, with an assistant staff. I have had the opportunity of seeing something of his work at first-hand. The type of training carried out is simple, of a recreational nature, and is the natural complement of the class studies. The number of students who have taken advantage of the physical training since the institution of the scheme rose in a few years from 280 to over 500.

All students who train regularly are measured and graded in respect of physical ability at the beginning and at the end of the course of training. Each student pays 10s. 6d. a year towards the Physical Welfare Fund, which entitles him to a free medical examination and free physical training. Non-swimmers can have free lessons in swimming during the summer term. Physical training classes are held during the autumn and spring terms daily from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Twice a week classes are held at 7 p.m. In the summer classes are held during the morning only. The physical training of the women students includes physical training with and without music, and Greek and national folk dancing.

The staff comprises a director of physical education, a chief instructor and a secretary to the director. Two assistant instructors, an instructress in physical training for women, and an instructress in dancing are employed, in addition, during the autumn and spring terms. There are, also, on the permanent staff three medical examiners (two men and one woman).

The Director of Physical Education is in entire charge of the physical welfare scheme, which also includes the

supervision of all university athletics and the care and upkeep of the playing fields. The Director visits sick students in the special ward for students in the Royal Infirmary. He is consulted by members of the University teaching staff in regard to students whose health appears to be unsatisfactory. There are remarkable instances of the improvement in the health and, consequently, in the work of students as a result of such consultation and of the remedial measures which have been carried out on the advice of the Director of Physical Education.

The example of Edinburgh has been followed by the three other Scottish universities. At one of the colleges of the University of Wales there is a gymnastic club with two instructors, and at several other universities voluntary classes are held under competent instructors. In a number of universities (including the Welsh university colleges) there are special arrangements for the physical instruction of students who belong to the training departments, and at some an arrangement is made which makes these facilities available for undergraduates generally. One or two other universities have recently decided to provide similar facilities for all students. Most of the universities which I approached state that the question of improved facilities for physical education was under consideration, and that considerable developments might be expected. Two universities, at least, are contemplating the establishment of a post-graduate full-time course for men, and one hopes to start a physical training college for graduates on the lines of the Carnegie College at Leeds. Neither at Oxford nor at Cambridge has anything been provided hitherto beyond the usual facilities for games. At Cambridge, however, a Syndicate has been appointed to consider the relation of the Training College to the University, and the question of physical training will come before that body. The Council of the University has postponed consideration of the wider question until the Syndicate has produced its report. There is, therefore, some reason to hope

that the example set by Scotland and Wales in providing facilities, not only for students belonging to the training department but also for the whole body of students, will sooner or later be followed generally.

In particular, it is desirable that someone should be appointed as a member of the university teaching staff to supervise the physical education of the students. It is important that he should be not a mere physical expert but someone of equal status with the other members of the teaching body—an expert in education and not merely in physical training. It is equally important that he should have those gifts of personality possessed in an extraordinary degree by the present Director of Physical Education at Edinburgh University. If a director of physical education were appointed at each of our universities and full facilities for training provided, there can be little doubt that, even without any measure of compulsion, a large proportion of students would voluntarily take advantage of the opportunities. I have no doubt whatever that the time is rapidly approaching when a director of physical education together with, at least, one large gymnasium and a swimming-bath will be regarded as an indispensable part of university provision.

Whatever opinion may be held in regard to the provision of facilities for physical education for the whole body of students, there can surely be no question that, for those students who belong to the training department of a university, physical education should form an essential and an important part of their course of training. The Government's White Paper on physical training and recreation contains the following significant paragraph: 'Further investigation may also show the desirability of aiding certain university and other training institutions to provide the accommodation necessary to enable them to give physical instruction on modern lines.'

Before 1926, students at a university attending the four years' course for elementary school teachers were required to

be examined in physical training, while students attending the post-graduate course for secondary school teachers were not. In 1926 the distinction between training for elementary and training for secondary school teaching, which had largely become a dead letter, was discontinued, and, shortly afterwards, the test by the Board in physical training was also given up. At the same time, the training departments were urged to make better provision for physical training for their students. Nevertheless, the Report of the Committee of the British Medical Association, published in 1936, particularly deplores 'the general neglect of physical education in the university training departments for teachers.'

As has already been indicated, in many of the universities of the United States and of Canada, medical examination is compulsory. At the Fifth Congress of the Universities of the Empire, the Principal of McGill University remarked that there was, so far as he knew, no objection whatever to compulsory health services as they are given at the University. 'If you have the right man at the head,' he said, 'there is going to be no trouble. The number of people who refuse to undergo examination and have to pay their fine in consequence is very small indeed.' After all, a medical certificate is required before a student enters a public school, the civil service, or the service of the local authorities. I believe that the institution of compulsory medical examination on the admission of a student to a university would be of great value in detecting physical weakness or incipient disease, and in preventing consequent suffering and possible catastrophe.

There remains the question of research. I recently attended a meeting under the auspices of the British Medical Association in which a strong plea was made for the institution at one or other of our universities of an Institute of Physical Research. Such an institute would work in close touch with the National College of Physical Training, when that is established. The term 'physical fitness,' after all, requires some further definition. It implies the question—fitness for what? The

athletic is training for some special activity. His standard of fitness is not that which should be aimed at by the ordinary individual, nor is he necessarily long-lived. Muscular development may be secured at the expense of other qualities more desirable. The due proportion which should be observed between physical and mental activities is also a subject which requires much further investigation. There are, at present, proceeding in various parts of the country experiments, some of which seem to show that an increase in the periods devoted to physical education at school at the expense of the periods devoted to mental instruction actually produces better results from the purely scholastic standpoint, while experiments conducted under the auspices of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology have, I think, shown clearly that periods of concentrated work interspersed with short periods of rest produce a better output than a longer period of sustained activity.

It is surely one of the prime duties of our universities to encourage and develop a scientific and experimental approach to the problems of physical education in regard to both diet and training. There is much to be done in the investigation of such problems, involving expert knowledge which only doctors and scientists possess. As the Committee of the British Medical Association say:

'The medical profession should co-operate with the gymnastic profession by investigating the physiological requirements and the effect of the various exercises with a view to the scientific arrangement of the syllabus of training. To facilitate such investigation, efforts should be made to establish some uniform assessment of the individual student. In particular, a standard method of testing exercise tolerance should be devised . . . Post-graduate courses should be established to provide medical men and women with the special training which the medical supervision of physical education demands.'

In England it has been our way in education, and particularly in physical education, to extol the merits first of one school of thought and then of another—to try each, and to find each wanting. Germany, Sweden, Denmark have been, at one time or another, held up as *the example* to be followed. The Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education states:

'At the present time the Swedish system is not fully co-ordinated with advances in scientific knowledge. Its physiology is, to some extent, out of date. Little research bearing on its problems has been done in recent years in this country, and the results of such research as may have been conducted abroad are not readily available here. There is an absence of contact between the scientist and the physical trainer, and hence a lack of modern scientific standards for testing systems of physical training. The consequence has been that methods or so-called systems of physical training have been put forward, from time to time, as an improvement on the Swedish system for universal application, and have gained a large measure of popularity, although they embody features that are, at least, of questionable value. It is true that there are many difficulties in the way of determining standards for physical training likely to meet with general scientific approval. If such standards which were not, on the one hand, too rigid, and, on the other, too elastic could be framed by physiologists in collaboration with experts in physical training, the advantages would be great.'

It is time for the universities to take their rightful place not only in caring for the physical culture of their own students but also in instilling into them a sense of the importance of physical education, and of its value in the training of the mind and of the character and in raising the standard of health and of education among the people. They have a great part to play, also, in providing the leaders in physical training who are so sorely needed, both in official and in voluntary educational activities.

It is the aim of education, in the words used on a memorable occasion by King George V, to develop to the fullest extent and in due proportion the potentialities, physical, mental and spiritual, of every member of the community. The universities should be the main channel for the dissemination of these ideals, and for their exemplification in practice. They can fulfil this function only when the interrelation of physical and mental education is more fully realized by them as a principle and more effectively expressed in action.

MR. G. T. HANKIN, B.A. (England): *Sight and Sound in Education*

In this talk I shall deal mainly with the use of the cinema and the radio in actual classroom practice. I shall give you the benefit of my own experience in the use of mechanical aids with children from 10 to 14 years. No one can give an opinion on the value of mechanical aids unless he has actually tried them with the children. The considered opinion of a large body of thoughtful teachers weighs more with me than all the analyses resulting from questionnaires and tests.

Let me emphasize that we are considering mechanical *aids* not mechanical education. Nothing can ever replace the personal relationship between teacher and taught. But we are living in a mechanical age and, as a teacher, I shall gladly employ any aid that science and invention can give me, provided that mine remains the directing hand. Such education, however, does not mean 'canned' lessons through which so much given knowledge is acquired by the child. These new aids are used in such a way that he will use his own mind, and that is where the skilled teacher comes in.

During the radio talk or the showing of the film all that we can ask is that the child should be attentive. That does not

mean passivity, for real attending is hard work. The teacher's part comes after the talk has been heard or the film exhibited. The child has received a mass of auditory or visual impressions and it is the teacher's task to bring these to consciousness so that they can be worked over, discussed, and related to the pupil's previous knowledge. No attempt should be made to deal comprehensively with the impressions a child receives during a film or radio lesson. The teacher should limit the discussion to those aspects which he, as teacher, knows will serve his purposes.

[By way of practical illustration, Mr. Hankin proceeded to play over a recording of a radio history lesson dealing with the industrial revolution and the changed relations between Capital and Labour. After an introductory comment, which briefly reviewed the conditions in factories at that time, there followed a dramatic interlude in which a typical mill owner, his wife, his factory foreman (formerly an old friend), a deputation from the workmen, and the reformer, Robert Owen, all played a part.]

I would ask you to consider whether this lesson does not make a valuable contribution to the child's knowledge of the period. The picture it gives is fair and historically accurate, and much more vivid than that given in any text-book. Of course, text-books will still be needed, but a radio lesson of this kind can do something that text-books cannot. The lesson you have just heard can be regarded as a typical sample of English educational broadcasting.

The dramatic interlude is valuable because it arouses emotions, and the feelings are the mainspring of action. The hard thinking follows the lesson. I would not ask the children to write an essay on the subject, but rather help them to recall from the subconscious the aspects of the picture that would serve my ends. I would ask the children what they thought of the owner and of the working man, and to state what they remembered of the argument. The skilled teacher

would be able to get all of the children, both the dull and the intelligent, to contribute something to the discussion. I myself would tell them nothing; my job would be simply to settle the line of thought and to leave the children to do the work themselves.

I shall now let you hear a radio music lesson in which Sir Walford Davies, who has been acclaimed the greatest teacher of music in the world, teaches two new songs by the 'echo method.' Such lessons have been a powerful factor in the improvement of school music in England, especially in country schools.

[The playing of the record followed.]

The British Broadcasting Corporation devotes every afternoon in the week to educational programmes. An enormous amount of work has been done in the field of educational broadcasting and I have myself been closely connected with it for ten years. There is a Central Council for School Broadcasting, made up of representatives of the Board of Education, the local authorities, the teachers, and of experts. The Council issues booklets for the guidance of teachers, and the programmes are graded to suit all ages. There are separate committees for the different subjects. I myself belong to the history committee, which consists of historians and five teachers who specialise in history in the schools. Similar committees attend to the work in other fields. These committees invite criticism of the broadcasts and make arrangements with certain schools for regular weekly reports. In this way teachers can get the type of programme they really require.

It is hardly necessary to enlarge on the part that films play in national life. It has been estimated that £750,000,000 is sunk in the industry and that 30,000,000 people throughout the world attend the pictures every day. Films have suffered in the past from lack of sound criticism. The result has been that what has become the art of the people has often been of a low standard. There is a real need for the publication

of good criticisms of entertainment films by competent critics who really understand the medium. Some of the English teachers' journals contain excellent film reviews and perhaps your teachers' journals in New Zealand could follow their example.

We cannot blame film producers for producing poor films. They produce for a market. It is our job to see that children demand a better article. Above all they should be taught to appreciate artistically beautiful films. Teachers should show their appreciation of short 'interest' films in every possible way. This is the most practical method of counteracting the two-feature programme with its inevitable elimination of educational 'shorts.'

[At Auckland Mr. Hankin showed two films, one entitled 'Chipping Campden,' and the other dealing with the West Indies, and at Wellington two nature films, 'Brock the Badger,' and 'Amazing Maize.' He showed how the teacher could help the children to recall significant facts, and, as with the radio talks, relate these facts to their previous knowledge.]

DR. CYRIL NORWOOD (England): *Science and Its Place in a General Education*

We all know the theory which is supposed to lie at the basis of our modern educational system: it is that we build up a system of specialised study on the foundation of a good general education. In England that good general education is left behind at 16 plus, by the duller children earlier: your conditions in New Zealand are for the purposes of the argument much the same. When you come to look closely into this good general education, what does it as a matter of fact amount to? Does it not amount to the analytic study

of a number of subjects, a few of which will be subsequently selected for further analytic study, but in the same way?

History, literature, geography, Latin, French, mathematics and science—we get at them all in much the same way: they are all a matter of intellectual training through the medium of books with the possible exception of science if it be rightly taught. So in the end our system of education works out as the thorough study of a few abstractions together with a slighter study of a larger number of abstractions.

Now I am not for a moment arguing that this analytic study is not absolutely necessary both for the proper training of the specialists who are needed by the modern world, and also for the training of the average child. But it is too academic to be regarded as a complete education—it leaves out too much. In the old days we trained a few selected intelligences out of the whole population, and we left the rest, the overwhelming majority, to be taught by life, by direct practical experience, under the guidance of a direct authoritarian system of morals and beliefs which was not openly questioned. But now the great mass of the boys and girls of the country, who are of average intelligence, are in the schools, and are being educated, I am inclined to believe, in a one-sided way. And I suggest that we ought to lighten the academic side of the curriculum, and strike a balance by teaching what I would call in a general phrase the appreciation of values, and the apprehension of concrete things.

The natural instinct of the young, who are growing, and feeling the growth of new powers, is to be doing, to be striving, to be making, to be trying things out. Part of their education, and by no means a despised part, ought to consist of doing and making, and on this basis, in fact, should be built up aesthetic appreciation, and power of observation. I feel that in the case of most of our children—in England at any rate—it is true to say that having eyes they see not, neither do they understand. I hold that the children need a much more quickened power to perceive directly concrete things, and for

that reason I hold that some part of our education should deal more fully than is now the case with the appreciation and apprehension of realities.

We are at present working on a considered theory which I personally feel to be sound so far as it goes, that on the academic side our education should impart some knowledge of our own language and culture, some knowledge of a foreign language and culture, and some introduction to those realms of human thought and achievement for which a knowledge of mathematics and science is necessary. I do not see anything to quarrel with in this definition of our true objects, so long as it is realised that this is not the whole of what we ought to be trying to do for boys and girls in our schools. It is a correct definition of our objects on the academic side. But how do we teach these subjects? Do we not tend to teach them in every case as if our pupils were all of them going on to be university students, and do we not set ourselves to lay the appropriate foundations for a thorough specialist knowledge to be built up by later advanced study resting upon these foundations? And yet we know that in nine cases out of ten, and in more, this advanced study will never take place.

This was all very well when the schools existed only to be feeders of the universities under English conditions a century ago, when they existed to supply recruits to the learned professions. The masters who taught in them were most of them products of the system, and they handed on the tradition in which they were trained. We are still all of us the products of the old system, and we still are apt consciously and subconsciously to think that all our pupils ought to aim at academic excellence, and that if they are not fitted for it, they ought to be written down as dull, and below the intellectual average. We never seem to be at all shaken in our complacency by the number of successes won in after life by boys whom we have superannuated as failures, or in some other way written off as 'duds.'

But I submit that the situation has completely changed in the last twenty-five years, and that the schools are now attempting a much wider task than that which was theirs in the nineteenth century. We are not now the rather exclusive training ground for the professions: we are the training ground for democracy. We have to think out the appropriate training for all, of whom only a very small percentage will follow any academic career, or go near a university. The whole purpose of what I have been saying leads on to this conclusion, that we ought to break clear of our academic presuppositions in thinking out our system of education up to the end of the sixteenth year, and think it out not in terms of university requirements, but in terms of the requirements of citizenship in the modern state and the demands of life in the modern world. I submit to you that there is ample time for specialisation in the years which follow 16, and that this is a stage upon which the naturally gifted candidates of the academic type will normally enter long before they are 16: and that this being so, there is no reason why we should any longer continue to shape the education of nineteen pupils according to the needs of the twentieth. I put it to you for your consideration that the right course in practice may be to free the schools from all requirements connected with university matriculation and to design as a suitable finish to the school's work a certificate which shall represent the completion of a course of education designed to prepare the average boy or girl for citizenship and for life. It would mean a tremendous upheaval, and a good deal of temporary inconvenience, but I see no other way in which the schools can be set free to do their proper work as it should be done. I would submit further that if the universities would content themselves with the requirement that their entrants shall have been through a regular school course, and, in addition, gained some form of higher certificate appropriate to the university faculty in which the student wishes to continue his studies,

they would as a matter of fact fill their classes with better-trained recruits than they can command at present.

In this re-planned and more independent school education I should claim an essential place for science, and indeed one of my objections to our present academically dominated curriculum is that it frequently prevents the study of science in the case of those who ought to pursue it. But when I speak of the study of science as a part of the education of everybody, I think that there are only two things which I wish the average pupil to carry away from this elementary study: the first is a sense of fact, and the second is a sense of law. It is in these two respects, it seems to me, that our modern democratic communities are most deficient, and they are the qualities most needed to ensure the continuance of our societies. And I do not see by what process a sense of fact and a sense of law can be more readily driven into the consciousness of ordinary men and women than by the study of elementary science, if rightly conceived and carried out.

Let us take first the sense of fact. Here I have in mind with a modern application a truth which Plato long ago taught, about the distinction between opinion and knowledge, for he too lived in a democratic community, in which it was of commercial value to be able to make the worse appear the better reason. He said that the vast majority of human beings were in a state of opinion, and did not know what a fact was, and I think the same is true of us today, only on a much wider scale. I mean a good deal by a sense of fact, truth if you like, something to which in its perfection we can, as human beings swayed by emotion and passion, never hope to attain completely. I mean that in every question there is a fact or a set of facts which can be objectively stated, and that it is necessary to know all the relevant facts, and that some of these may be obscure and will require a good deal of looking for. I mean not only the determination to discover all the relevant factors of a situation, but the resolve not to neglect any of them when discovered, because we happen to dislike them, or

because they happen to conflict with our preconceived opinion of what is desirable. I mean the capacity to reason from those facts logically, and I mean the capacity to suspend judgment, if there is not sufficient knowledge upon which to base a final conclusion. I want to create a community by means of our schools which will put the spell-binders and slogan-manufacturers of modern politics and journalism out of commission, and free us, so far as we can be humanly freed, from all the dangers of mass-suggestion. And that seems to me one of the great contributions which scientists can make to the citizenship of the future, that you may produce a race of men and women who will be prepared to ask first and foremost what are the facts, and what logically follows from the facts.

And that leads by a natural and easy transition to what is only another aspect of the same thing, that you can promote the acquisition of a sense of law. There are certain hard things which it is necessary to inculcate, and which it is vital for our modern democratic communities to learn. One of them, for instance, is that nature never forgives. For I do not want our pupils to carry away from science merely the conception of the laws of the universe as something grand and unswerving, but remote from personal and private experience, but the lesson that they affect also the community in its public life, and the individual in his private life, and that they are just as inexorable there as they are in the starry spheres. 'Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,' says Wordsworth in his *Ode to Duty*, 'and the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong.' The modern community is too apt to think that this is true enough for the stars and ancient heavens, but that there are all sorts of ways in which we can elude duty in public and private life, and yet get away without consequences. And so we have instances enough of those who preach that you can put in fourpence and get out ninepence, and that this is a process which can continue. There are those who hold that you can by means of an adroit use of the printing press, or by

mobilisation of foreign credits, or some other Tom Tiddler formula, continue indefinitely the distribution of assets which you do not possess. There are those who hold that in some miraculous manner you can hope to undersell people who work harder and live cheaper than you do. There are those who believe that you can keep fit by patent methods and medicine and not by obeying the laws of health. There are a thousand and one designers, discoverers, and advertisers of royal roads and of soft options. And they all proceed by the suppression of relevant facts, by the introduction of question-begging epithets, by the theory, which is hypocritically or subconsciously held, that a fact or the truth is only what you can make people think it is, and by ignoring the law that causes have inevitable consequences. I want to attack the whole rotten structure of make-believe, and make-do, and good enough, which extends so far and wide in our social and economic system, and I see no more hopeful way of attacking it than by science taught universally to the average boys and girls in our schools.

And therefore I hold that you have to think in these first stages of education not that you are engaged in laying the foundations of knowledge for a future chemist or a future physicist, but that you are laying the foundations of principle for a future citizen. This may seem a new point of view, perhaps to some a forced point of view, but I remember vividly a debate in the Headmasters' Conference in England, in which was expressed from many sides a dissatisfaction with the contribution made by formal science to the make-up of a boy for modern life. It has come about, I believe, because science teachers have not looked outside the confines of their own subject.

I do not want to dogmatise about the subject-matter of courses of science for all: that is a matter for individual initiative, and will vary according to the urban or rural conditions in which a school finds itself. But I think I ought to be brave enough to say that in those first stages when all

are to take the course, it ought to be a mixed one of elementary chemistry, physics, and biology, with excursions into astronomy, geography, geology, botany. That sounds a tremendous task, and I can hear at once the outcry of many, that this is pure smattering, that what I am asking for is merely a course of popular extension lectures, or popular science readings for children. I admit that it is not a real scientific foundation for which I ask, but I do not think that I am really asking for mere smattering: whether it is smattering or not will depend upon the way in which the syllabus is drawn, and above all on the teacher. In no way have I in mind to exclude exact experimental training within strict limits, for that seems to me to be vitally important, but I want to open a lot of windows in the mind of the pupil, and to make him see that there are a number of fields to which the same conception of law and the same scientific method apply. In the early stages, which are immediately post-primary, I would precede the course by simple nature study and by teaching exact and simple measurement.

I am perfectly aware of the lions that stand and roar in the path, academic lions all of them, but the presupposition of what I say is that we are going to give the academic beasts of prey only a part, and not the whole, of our educational fodder, and that citizenship in the modern world, and not membership of a university, is going in future to be the permanent influence in deciding what we teach and what we do in our schools.

DR. CYRIL NORWOOD (England): *Music and Its Place in Education*

One province of general education for all, the importance of which is being more and more realised, is concerned with the training of the hand, the eye, and the ear through art,

music, and handicraft. Such aesthetic education is an essential element in training for leisure and, in addition, has absolute educational value in itself. It should clearly be understood, however, that in teaching art and music our object is general aesthetic education and not the production of art masters and music teachers. The teaching of music has greatly improved in recent years; but music is still too often regarded as an extra which can be lightly dropped in favour of more serious subjects.

The value of music was fully realised by the Greeks. 'Music,' though to them a very wide term, did include something of what we understand by it. Plato, their greatest thinker, claimed harmony as the corrector of discord in the soul, and rhythm as the preventer of irregularity and gracelessness in the ways of men. The purpose of music, then, was the formation of character. Consequently when Plato drafted a four-year course of post-primary education he put the teaching of the lyre into it. He quite seriously meant that music is an essential element in the formation of character, and he was right.

Why was this forgotten? England was a musical nation in Elizabethan and Tudor times but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the tradition was lost, music was thought effeminate, a pastime accomplishment for girls, but unseemly for boys. When Boswell said his emotions were stirred by music, Johnson called him a fool; and when Farmer wanted to teach boys to sing at Harrow, housemasters insisted that they should sing in Latin. Was the change due to the prevalence of Latin standards, or to Puritanism?

It can be admitted that, where music plays too exclusive a part in education, the charge that it results in temperamentalism or over-development of the emotions is frequently true. But there is little danger here. Most boys are emotionally under-developed and at the school stage aesthetically dull, and music can only do them good. It is a great exaggeration to say that the majority of boys are

unmusical, and it must be remembered that our object is not to produce 'virtuosos' but appreciative listeners who are also able to sing. Music teachers have proved that a sense of rhythm and a sense of pitch are inborn in nearly everybody.

Music is one of the finest forms of corporate effort: in unison singing and in playing in an orchestra each must do his very best in complete subordination to the whole performance. Rhythmic education, singing, dancing, and playing in percussion bands, should be part of the course from the kindergarten to the end of the primary stage at about eleven; while at the secondary stage provision should be made for unison singing, part singing, instrumental work in orchestra and band, lectures on musical appreciation, and the use of the radio and gramophone. The abler boys should be encouraged to contribute their own melodies and to set simple school songs. For the best results it is essential that music in the school should be regarded as a community effort.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION THROUGH ART

MR. ARTHUR LISMER, A.R.C.A. (Canada): *Art in a Changing World*

ANY conception of art must include the world of today. Art is not history and culture, it is not techniques and practice, it is not even beauty of appearance. It is more than pictures and crafts, sculpture and architecture. These are outward expressions and observances. They are fine arts, surely, but they do not summarize all the experiences of man. To understand art we must look deeper than the outside world—further into life than opinions, criticisms, and historical data. We must look to the deeper nature of man, and into the character of the human striving to achieve amid success, sufferings, ambitions and frustrations, a higher dignity of life. Through art man approaches divinity in creative intention; through understanding and sympathy man achieves a deeper meaning to reality. All the higher emotions of life; all the dignity of human purpose; changing ideals and the changing scene; sadness and poignancy; power, majesty, pomp and circumstance—all are expressed through art.

Put art in the category of skills, and knowledge about history and techniques, and its power as a developing force

within man—within all individuals—is lessened. Bring it into the arena of active life, of experience lived and shared, and we sense the attitude of the artist—the attitude of experiencing, seeing, sharing and doing. We appreciate the existence of the artist in all men by our capacity for enjoyment and for participating in the experience of seeing sights and hearing sounds of beauty.

It is a new conception of art that will lead us to new ideas of reality. Reality is not something that we are, but something we desire to be. Our problem is to estimate the value and purpose of art today, not to study with veneration the dead patterns of a remote past. Art is here and *now*, as well as there and *then*. The danger today is in relying too much on knowledge of what has been to direct us to our own inner impulses and to what is around us—the racial, political, economic, topographical, emotional, aesthetic and material environment, which includes the human mind and its reactions to all these.

Education must present a complete picture of art, not an archæological one, nor an historical or statistical one, but one that will include the nature of human thought and action. Art as an academic and ponderous conception, as a tradition of ancient vintage that sustains contemplative thought today, is antiquarianism and merely documentary compared with the idea of art as a powerful stimulus to happier and more significant living. 'Unventilated culture' is one writer's description of the stuffy sentimentality about art existing in the average mind. But no definitions, statements or formulas can describe art. It is experienced, lived, and enjoyed—affecting every attitude and every channel of human experience.

Our world does change. The constructional changes of contour and earth forms are slow and imperceptible. The development of new types and forms of growth in animate nature are hard to discern. But man changes; *his* world

changes. There are racial, political, and economic changes. The consequences of intrigue and war, the movement and migrations of people, the new conditions of urban and rural life, mechanised labour; the new conception of speed and developments in the transmission of thought and sound; new social ideas about the home, sex, and human relationships; new and overwhelming scientific concepts of space and time, of evolution, of atoms and electrons, light and astro-physics; improvements in sanitation, comfort, transportation and housing; alterations in government and international relationships—all these change the world of man and his attitude to life.

Civilization today gives the appearance of a world in transition. We live in today's world either as participants in the contemplation and enjoyment of its changes, or in the world of the past in the study of older, more romantic or idealistic forms. The world changes continually and insistently. Civilization is an art form—it has design.

Humanity changes. There are fundamental, immutable permanencies, but humanity changes none the less. Philosophies and ethical ideals, religions, and spiritual and moral standards effect their changes in the nature of man and his attitude to the universe. Art is not only the process of recording these changes; it is also the mode of transition from one phase to another.

Definitions of art are numberless—and as easily discarded as the clothes we wear. Each definition attempts to reveal some new facet of human personality. We have argued and speculated, philosophised and experienced, but the question mark remains. What is art? To attempt the elucidation of the mystery is the essence of life; to find a solution is the end of activity and growth. Art is life and growth, and every age has expressed its poignancies and sufferings, its triumphs and ideals, by giving to outward expressions the

conviction of inner emotional responses to the joy and pain of existence.

Palaeolithic man lived in a cave, with fear and cunning as his dominant characteristics. When the idea of expressing his fears arose along with his prayers for success in the hunt, he propitiated whatever powers he knew or feared by giving to the forms of his animistic worship the semblance of graphic realism. Art to him was the experience of knowing and fearing, and he left his records wherever his wandering mind and nomadic nature found seclusion and a natural surface for his paintings and drawings.

But his world changed; he found new clues to larger living; according to his opportunity and intelligence he invented new weapons, and developed the arts of agriculture and husbandry. He learned to respect new gods, and beauty arose from his utilitarian demands on life. But he still feared, and revered through fear and magic, the things he regarded as outside his material existence. Gradually he set up the images of his fear, and by ceremonial and sympathetic magic he gave these forms the quality of beauty as it appeared to him.

His realism gave way to new concepts of reality. He had time to look at the hills and the stars. Dynasties, hierarchies, famine, war, and savage rivalry each in their respective areas and periods, inspired histories, beliefs, forms of worship, and idealistic concepts of fears and longings.

The idea of a nirvana, a paradise, a happy hunting ground, a nether world, arose, and a galaxy of saints and heroes, a folk lore, emerged. The legendary, mythological, mystic and sublime elements in tribal history became the source from which poetry, painting, literature, sculpture, architecture and handcrafts sprang into domestic or historical forms, expressed in pottery, weapons, weaving and carving, painting and architecture, every age contributing its quota of human inspiration. Egypt, Greece, Rome, Byzantium and

Italy, all produced their standards of civilization and achievement, expressed in a tomb, a frieze of warriors, a temple shining on a hill, an amphitheatre, or some storied arches.

These are the signs of growth, and of man's searching for the idiom to express his sense of adoration and worship. Mosaics, frescoes, stained glass, vase paintings, the miniature and the mural, the printed book and the altar-piece, the painted landscape and the aristocratic portrait—all these are expressions of this same growth. The pulsing sap, the writhing undergrowth, the lofty peaks, the seasons in their changes, the hill forms, and the varied multiplicity of nature forms—these things are God's creations, expressions of the continuity and survival of life in the natural world.

In human life, and in the progress of human aspirations and relationships, design is growth, and through design man approaches divinity and sustained spiritual and physical well-being. Man is most like God when he creates from ideas and imagination things and objects that live in the world of man as living truth. *Art* is the manifestation of divinity in humanity.

Man has often been content merely to contemplate and appreciate the outer shell of experience. The professional artist, the connoisseur, the historical critic, and all those whose business it is to traffic in art and talk about it, all those who conserve and collect, those who esteem surface and fail to plumb depths, those who accept and expand outer appearances, all these are purveyors of half-truths—the sheen on the metal, the highlight on the fruit, the iridescence of the butterfly's wing, surface and prettiness, romantic vistas and pastoral sweetness, but death and decadence also. There is no continuity in appearance, at the most but repetition without the manifestation of law; for those who are content with appearances all that is possible is the brittle response to light and shadow, and the ephemeral acts of verisimilitude. Appearances are deceptive, and no art prospered long by

giving an outward gloss to something that had a deeper reality. So the fundamental things in life require deeper perception. Participation in the living experience of growth demands an identification with its character, a merging with the form and design of the living truth.

In the story of art in the life of mankind—which is a greater epic and a nobler theme than any exploit of military occupation, than the achievements of any royal lineage—in this panorama which history brings before us, man's efforts to come into contact with reality are clearly indicated. It is the story of creation, of the unfolding plan and purpose of humanity in time and place. But our history books neglect this evidence of man as a creative being. We have not yet learnt that when man is most possessive and destructive, he is most evil, and when he creates he is most like the gods he worships.

Life itself is a work of art; life passes, and art endures. Art is the most continuous and convincing picture of the manifestation of divinity in humankind. There is the immortal recurrence of the human aspiration to reach through the creative aspects of looking, listening, and doing, a deeper reality. What more convincing proof do we need that beauty exists in the heart of man, like prayer and thankfulness, than the eloquent visual panorama which unfolds as the ages run—sometimes showing a temple shining on a hill, sometimes a fragment of bronze or marble, sometimes a painted screen, and sometimes the gay decorations on a peasant's gown. It is this visual story that education should unfold. Our children should learn the story of mankind in its creativeness, as well as in its possessiveness. We must unfold order and beauty, if we believe that our civilization has any form at all.

Who can believe that what we see of the outward aspect of the world today, with its wars, intrigues, and national passions and hatreds, represents living truths by which mankind must

live? We know that these are outward things, and not inner strivings. Deep within the heart of man is a craving for peace and beauty. Some ages have given it expression, many individuals have given it more than a local appearance. They have, through music, poetry and painting, given an enduring picture of their life and times and of the inherent dignity of human aspirations.

These are they who have the 'victorious attitude to life.' They are makers of history and forgers of links in the continuous chain of beauty and experience. We read of their achievements as history, biography, and technology; we see them in museums and art galleries, but their deeper imprint is on the soul of mankind, and neither war nor tyranny can efface it. 'The past is not behind us, it is within us.' In ourselves, according to our stature and opportunities, we inherit the beauty and experience of the ages, whether we know it or not.

The changing world moulds new forms, it re-interprets old theories, but the fact remains that we must create or perish. And the creative urges have kept mankind alive in spite of all the destructive forces in history. Consider Bach, Shakespeare, St. Francis, Leonardo, Copernicus, Van Gogh, Einstein, and a host of others. Their world was not one of random thoughts and impulses, it was a world in which thoughts, sounds, forms and colours had design and meaning. Their real world was no mysterious realm of dreams and myths. It was a real world of convincing truths to which the minds and spirits of creative men had access, and from which they obtained, as from a promised land, such supreme gifts as a symphony, a new force for love and service, a carven statue, or a new conception of law and order in time and space.

To us who dwell on the outer fringe waiting for the travellers in this reality of all worlds, come delight and sustenance from their discoveries and revelations. Or, as

—in short, they are the sinews of the living body of things that were, that are, and that will be.

We cannot escape this emotional side of the changing world. It is all art; it has beauty, form, progress and significance. Educationally, this story of artistic creation leads right into the heart of the present, and we need to re-fashion our attitude towards the things man has produced. There is so much in education that fails in its purpose to educate, because it has no inner core of vitality. It adds to knowledge but not to capacity and curiosity about the life of today. The danger in our sophisticated world is in the acquisition of skills that have no purpose, in thinking that has no end except in absorption of material for examinations, and in tasks that lead only to the formation of precise and accurate habits.

Consequently our generation of young people who have been through high school and university have touched only the fringe of this wonderland. They do not understand that the things they enjoy, use, and adorn themselves and their surroundings with, have a history of origins and processes. They are just things for use and destruction, things which have fallen inadvertently into their lap. They accept, and fail to wonder. Their experience of using and seeing is sterile of understanding and wisdom. They have lost the art of enjoying beauty and design.

Education should restore the balance by gradually providing the young child with a picture of himself and his environment—what he is, why he is here, and how his environment developed. He should be led from that to the story of other peoples, and their migrations and settlement, worship, festivals, poetry, folk lore and craftsmanship. For these are the true stories—more vivid and wonderful than those of antagonisms and conquests.

MR. ARTHUR LISMER, A.R.C.A. (Canada): *Art and Creative Education*

Today we wrestle with a confusion of values in economics, politics, science and art. We are eternally measuring and estimating, trying to get at the heart of meaning.

There may be no such thing as a changing world. The same old sun rises and sets, the same human nature, fickle and easily disturbed, is with us. We are conscious, however, that the world of ideas, the world of so-called fact and of fixed formulas, is changing for us, and to those who gather sustenance from such ideas and concepts, and have no particular regard for immutable permanencies, the world does change. Art, the herald of change, the world in which new ideas are born, is changing too—or rather, we are, in our progress through life, beginning to understand the wider meaning of art. The modern critic of art has taken a leaf from the scientist's code of rules and has headed the long list of enquirers into the nature of things as they are, and into the world of imagination, that is closed to other inquirers.

All the stuffy sentimentalism about art as an occupation for the few and a refuge for dwellers in ivory towers is giving way to a more rational, more human need for knowledge and participation. Biographies and histories are being written today that disdain the purely chronological and factual approach. The discerning one goes to the heart of the subject and 'faces up' to the product—the architecture, the picture, the sculpture—and from its form and its design conceives a new interpretation of the significance of the man and the times that produced it.

We no longer regard the Aristotles, the Plinys, the Vasaris and the Ruskins as the final judges of the life and art of their times. We re-value history, continually re-arranging the pinnacles and valleys that once were shrouded in the mists

of obscurity and made still more obscure by personal, religious and racial prejudices. The past has been flooded with the new light of modern research and things that were hidden from the sight of man have become clear, giving us new glimpses into human aspirations and personality.

What is it but the discoveries of archæologists and researchers—utensils, sculpture, wrought-metal, carved wood—that have given us a clearer knowledge of the past? We live the life of ancient Egypt, not by thinking of the Nile and her tributaries and the thousands of acres of desert, but by seeing the pictured story and the columned temples that express their eloquent and silent appeal across the centuries. We see the links that bind us to the past as an unbroken chain of experience, expressed not by warriors and kings, but by artists, who are always those who have lifted mankind from their fears and superstitions by showing them the heights that man can aspire to. Ships and temples, jewellery and weapons, walled cities and tapestries, books and monuments—these are the real interpreters of the past, these express most vividly the changing ideals of humanity. Art is thus a record of aspirations and experience. It is the only permanent thing in life, for life passes and art remains.

Our world changes—both the natural environment, the trees, the weather, the seasons, and the social world of man, his dress, his weapons, his buildings, scientific, religious and political ideas, his customs, manners and attitudes. True, these do not change overnight, but slowly and inevitably we see the change. Habits are like trees: they grow and stiffen, lose their leaves and cast no grateful shade, then become inert and die, but new life springs up to take their place. This process of unfoldment and decay is experience—and art.

Architecture changes: the building that was a marvel of utility loses everything but its proportion and beauty—some art remains even in a ruin. But the motive that prompted its erection, the customs, religion, and civic life of which

it was an expression, these have changed. There are still nomads who live in tents similar to those from which the early Egyptians conceived the idea of a temple with its various chambers. The grove of stately elms, with its lacing of upspringing foliage and roof of green, inspired the majestic pillared aisles of the Gothic church. Such groves still exist, none of the origins have changed; what has changed is the need and spirit of man, restless and anxious for progress.

Man sheltering in a cave from the storm, from enemies and wild beasts, concerned only with his own safety and the perpetuation of life and of the species, had little impulse to lift his eyes to the hills and stars. Man in the factory and machine shop—pulling levers, switching current, stamping and packing, pounding and shaping—has little desire or mind to lift his spirit to anything higher than concentration on the immediate task, focussed for his attention. But when man is freed from these grim necessities, and can turn to the beauty that nature and art provide, then he assumes, in however mean a measure, the mantle of the gods, and he warms himself at the glow of the achievement of others, or at his own imperfect efforts to create form and design for his pride to feed on or to share with others. According to his spiritual stature, to his environment, and to his excess of vital energy, his art will develop. The world of form changes around him, the things that serve to agitate his emotional nature, the youthful ally of his intelligence, are not the same today, as when the gorgeous temples of the militant kings of the ancient world were fearsome and colossal edifices housing only cruelty and power. He had no heart for these, no affection for the awe-aspiring sculptured friezes of battles and warriors' lion hunts, and the monsters that met his eyes whenever he strayed near the seats of the mighty. He created little trees and animals and strange forms and wove them into his garments, or painted them in prayer and fear around his pottery, or carved them on the door posts of his

house, thus preserving the traditions of his race. As he could no longer hunt he became a craftsman through sheer necessity. His songs and dances were often secret, the ritual of the oppressed, but like the early Christians celebrating the worship of the Good Shepherd in the catacombs of Rome, he brought joy into his earthly lot and created a margin of flower bedecked beauty to decorate the days and hours of his fears and hopes.

Today man lives in a strange world of science, which fills the need that art once satisfied. He sees other strange monsters, aerials and factories, flashing signs and bill-boards, tall buildings reaching to the clouds, great ships and engines of destruction, poisonous gases and deadly bombs. He cannot take his food for himself—he cannot even barter for it. He must shop in huge stores and buy clothes, tools and furniture, the origin of which he knows little about and to the making of which he has contributed nothing. The little flowers and the carven things that once he made to decorate his clothes and home are now in great museums, are called antiques and cottage crafts. Denied his birthright, he seeks the modern counterpart of the arena and the village playing-field, and there on the flickering silver screen the third-rate enacting of falsities gives to his life the only touch of romance that he knows today. Is it any wonder that his spirit is servile and that he turns uncaring, heart-sick and frustrated, to the gospel-tent or to the saloon to drown his sorrow in an emotional orgy, or the forgetfulness of drugs and drink? Is it any wonder that he revolts against oppression, the destruction of his one-time pastures and woods, and the graceless monotony of his earthly lot? He turns to satire and irony, to the invective of the agitator, to the political opportunist who promises a way out of bondage but can only lead him into something worse—war, rebellion, communism and even death.

The artist is the interpreter of this change. He can give sentimental prettiness to pastoral vistas; he can recall in the painted canvas and the written poem a forgotten world of charm and lyrical tenderness. He can indulge in satirical verse or use the forms of art as powerful propaganda hurled against the powers of darkness and destruction, as the medieval craftsmen in their sculpture and decorated scripts drove away the fatal beauty of paganism, by holding up the pictured presentation of the martyred body as a house of correction for the soul. Or, in despair, the artist turns from this world of other men's making to the vast, unexplored world of abstract thought, psychological and metaphysical, where the emotional and scientific union of intellect and speculation releases the spirit into lands less forlorn, into a world of order and mathematical divination, but one which takes him from all contact with his fellow men into a stratosphere of rarefied purity of design and colour.

But the common man—the ordinary, work-a-day person, especially in the cities—has nothing, no means of escape, no woods, no opportunity for monastic seclusion, no intellectual interests or articulate desire for peace, and hence he is forced to seek security merely in material possessions. In the world of today, it is art above all else which can give man self-knowledge and self-respect, understanding by art, literature, music, architecture, sculpture and painting. But there must be education for it. More people must come to know what art means in the life of today, and what it has meant in the preceding generations of man. Restore to man in the years to come the wisdom of creative thought and action. By wise education teach him the forgotten use of eyes, ears and hands as extensions of his personality. Commence early in the life of the child to give him ideals through art as well as scientific facts. The school and the child should be instruments of a far-reaching and beneficent propaganda to recall the meaning of life to those who have lost all contact with reality.

We shall as adults have to believe first that children can teach us something about ourselves. When we realize this simple truth, we can begin to help children to expand their creative powers and to avoid abject materialism and possessiveness. Artistic creativeness is the one outstanding quality of childhood. Carry this momentum of curiosity and creative power further into adult life and we shall have made one small step forward and upward. Education can change the face of the world.

MR. ARTHUR LISMER, A.R.C.A. (Canada): *Education Through Art*¹

When education is seen as a creative force, organized and directed by people with creative, expansive minds, and aimed at the development of lively, emotionally aware human beings, it becomes clear that knowledge and facts are not everything, that possession is a law only in the material world and not in the realm of the spirit.

When educators begin to accept the artist mind, with its way of seeing life as a whole, and its comprehension of history as a striving onward and upward, they will begin also to see a world where useful hands and seeing eyes are more than possessions for professional and vocational use by

¹ Mr. Lismer recommended the following books on art education:
Eccott, Rosalind and Arthur: *Teaching Creative Art in Schools*. Evans Bros., 1935.
Gibbs, Evelyn: *The Teaching of Art in Schools*. Williams and Norgate, 1936.
Tomlinson, R. R. *Crafts for Children*. Studio Special Number, 1935.
Richardson, Marion: *Writing and Writing Patterns*. University of London Press, 1935.
Art and Craft Education. Published monthly. Evans Bros.
(An account of Mr. Lismer's art gallery classes for children at Toronto will be found in *National Education* for May, 1937.)

the adult, but are also extensions of personality leading to a higher morality of life, the enjoyment and pursuit of happiness and a richer way of living.

Education should unfold like a plant—the earth rich and fertile, the seed vigorous and capable of expansion, the first shoot tender, yet strong, the early budding beautiful with promise, the leafage protective and abundant, the flowering rich with fulfilment, the seed plentiful and ripe for future growth. When the child is unnaturally forced out of time and season in the over-heated and expensive hot houses we call schools and fed on patent food, instead of a hardy bloom we get a sickly plant. He develops a heady, shut-in attitude of passive resistance, and becomes the prey of herd instincts, mass psychology, possessive creeds. Without art he is fit only for 'stratagems and spoils.'

Here is where the creative artist has a message for education today. Stop regarding the artist as a strange purveyor of cults and 'isms! Cease to regard art as a possession of a few professional exponents and connoisseurs and consider the artist as an educator with a vital message. He says in brief: science and formulas, facts and systems of learning are not everything—there is beauty as well. Take beauty and creative thinking from life and it is left cold and arid. Preserve the creative spirit from childhood onwards and you keep alive the pioneering instincts, the awe and wonder at our earthly passage. The one who possesses can lose; he who creates can never lose.

The artist is not a unique and isolated expression of human personality; the artist mind is universal, it is in every individual. Education as we have it, however, submerges this artistic consciousness; it restricts imagination and produces uncreative individuals who walk unseeing and uncaring through life with minds unresponsive to beauty in art, in their surroundings and in history.

When the creative ideas and impulses in every child are allowed to function freely in education, new concepts of human personality, new ideals of beauty, peace, spiritual growth and freedom will develop in our national and domestic life. Through art we shall find the human aspiration to create beauty in the environment, to make life a more harmonious habitation for the soul. Through art we may find the core of real sensibility, the true individual within. Art is not an external thing, a habit of looking and listening; it is a developing force within, expressive of changing ideals of humanity. Art through the ages has expressed the higher concepts of life. Ever since man had the capacity to notice the hills and the stars he has been carving, building, writing, and painting his story into forms and designs, into stone and wood, metal and textile, into pottery and the illuminated page. Through art man has found a way to paradise—or at least a clue or avenue to a greater reality.

But we have considered art as a specialized thing, as depending on special talent, on potted courses and forty minute periods of theory and practice. We look for talent in the few, we fail to see the broader needs of the many. The ancient and classical peoples never separated art from life. Art served their worship and praise, their crafts of hand. It built their cities and conserved their racial records; but it was not called art, not in the sense that we today identify art as culture and knowledge. To these ancient peoples it was part of a many-sided life in which religion, art, domestic affairs, war and agriculture were all part of a rounded whole.

Today we compartmentalize art, politics, economics, religion, and study them clinically, scientifically, in the pursuit of facts and statistics. In times past the common people shared with the artist the meaning of art in daily life. The people could enter into the feelings that made the artist create sustaining things, like fine architecture and paintings

for the churches. The meanest among them could understand something of the purpose of his work. In the disintegrated industrial world of today, the professionalization of art separates the artist from the mass of men and puts his ideals, his works and his way of life apart from common practice and appreciation. We have used his outward symbols and expressions to decorate our life. We have used his method of training and have potted down his studies for the art lesson. We have even used the professional painter as educator, but we have missed the adventure, the lively stimulus and the aspiring nature of art. We have made it a slave, a butterfly in chains. Now we must search through all the story of mankind to rediscover the meaning of art.

We have tried to capture the artist's message by studying his background and techniques, and we have attempted the task of translating his intuitions and sense of order into theories. A thousand different meanings have been given to what the artist does—how he paints and carves, and builds; but the real meaning of his activity—*why* he paints and carves and builds, and *how* he thinks—defies analysis.

Psychology, however, has helped us to think meaningfully about the child and also about ourselves. We have discovered the way to discover. We shall have to discover also that the child is nearly all artist and that the art way, or the creative path, is the one that leads to the discovery of personality, and that no method of drawing, no colour theory, no system of design will replace the exuberance of the creative child in action, finding his own paths to self-knowledge and self-expression.

Lest we should think that these claims for art as a guide to educational order are extravagant, let us conceive of a world without art. Let us think of a soul without art, or a story, or the creative plan manifested in the origin and formation of worlds and of humanity. From darkness and void to light and form—so the story of creation runs, so it

is with the minds of children and the progress of man. We tie and bind, we restrict and measure, we hammer in facts and statistics until our children grow up with no better grasp of life than we ourselves possess.

Art is not a lesson or a theory; it is life itself. Our aim in modern education is to give scope to every fine and enlivening sentiment and to release every creative urge—and that this aim can be realized through the medium of the arts—painting, dancing, singing, poetry and the drama—has been strikingly demonstrated. But the attitude of our departments of education, and the system itself with its well-greased skids that slip the official routine along through the years—these have not changed. It is not more art in the schools that is needed; it is more art in the minds of the syllabus experts, the builders of school systems, those who talk economics, politics, superannuation, and wage-cuts, those who sit in offices with telephones and reports, and reflect with pride that all the readers in the country are open in all the schools at the same page at the same time. It is the planning for education that is without art. What we try to do as teachers is far in advance of the things that those who sit in offices do as leaders.

I could conceive of a plan of education in which the leaders were artists who in Plato's words 'made use of the heavenly pattern,' who thought of the child mind as a painter thinks of a work of art, not as an 'airy nothing' to be given 'a local habitation and a name,' but as a potential world to be formed into nobility and beauty. I could think of planning education as a work of art is planned. History and languages, arts and crafts, song and dance would find a place as emotional allies of intelligence, and art would be the factor that gave unity and coherence to everything that was taught. I could think of a plan for education where art was freed from commercial, vocational and professional preoccupations, where the artist mind in officials, teachers and children

was encouraged to function freely, where sympathies for other nations were quickened, where the arts of man were considered more important than kings and battles, where languages were not dead, but as vital as art itself, where the customs and habits, the records and utensils of man's progress were studied as art, and not as mere evidence of survival.

The artist has a design for living. He attacks his work boldly, he plans for design and mass, he makes forms and interprets his idea through his technique: the design is rough-hewn at first, the details come later, but there is beauty at every step. Life is a work of art on this ancient plan, something to be moulded and shaped by each living person. In such a plan every teacher becomes a maker of fine programmes that will bring out the individual capacities of the children; every teacher becomes a guide to happy living. But first of all we must conceive of education itself as having a creative purpose, a design in which the parts make up a harmonious whole.

As it is, we begin too soon with formal teaching and so hasten the passing of the springtime of life. Art can help us to restore the balance between information and imagination. We need, in our official planning, an understanding of education as an art, for there can be an art of education. Through such an understanding we may in time restore to people their rightful inheritance, and give children some assurance of a richer and happier future.

DR. PAUL L. DENGLER (Austria): *Child Art in Austria*

Before the War, art was taught in the Austrian schools in a dry and uninteresting way, the children generally being made to copy from a pattern that the teacher placed before

them. But even in those days there were exceptional teachers. One of these was an art teacher by the name of Franz Cizek, who in 1898 founded, at the School of Applied Art in Vienna, classes for children which afterwards became famous throughout the world.

Cizek is the pioneer who discovered and developed modern child art. His first principle is that the children should work in a pleasant environment that invites them to creative self-expression. Believing that nothing creative can be developed in depressing surroundings, he makes his classrooms bright and attractive with flowers and pictures. His second principle is that the child should be free to do as he pleases. No special technique is taught to the pupil or imposed upon him, the teacher remaining in the background and leaving the little artist to struggle for himself. Little or no help is given him even if he asks for it, for Cizek holds that the effort must come from the child himself and that nothing should be made easy for him. Further, Cizek's practice is based on the theory that child art is the characteristic expression of feeling and emotion during the period when the intellect is not yet dominant. Later on the young people will find other means of self-expression, for example they will keep diaries or write poems, but child art is confined to the time of pre-adolescence. Cizek is not interested in preparing children for artistic careers in later life but only in enabling the unconscious ego of the child to express itself joyfully through art, free from the domination of adult ideas. Above all, Cizek stands for the perfect happiness of the young artist, and his classrooms are very happy places. He is not interested in the average child but only in those who are particularly gifted—if among a hundred children he discovers one little genius he dismisses the ninety-nine and concentrates on the one left.

Nobody took much interest in Cizek's ideas for many years. But after the War there came a new emphasis in education on the emotional life of the child and his

CHAPTER VII

EXAMINATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE

DR. I. L. KANDEL (U.S.A.): *Examinations and Their Substitutes*¹

THE purpose of the traditional examinations was in the main to discriminate between students who should pass or fail on the basis of some pre-conceived standard of achievement. In general the results of such examinations have been as immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. To a certain extent they helped to standardize the instruction of the schools or educational institutions which were subjected to them; to that extent also they have often been used as much as a test of teachers as of their pupils, and the quality of a school has been judged by the number of its successful pupils. Underlying this practice have been the assumptions that the standards of assessment were always unchanging, that the opinions and judgments of examiners were invariably infallible, and that the curriculum and courses of study were always adjusted to the needs and abilities of all pupils or students at a given level; hence the pupil or student who failed stood condemned as incapable

¹ The quotations in this report are reproduced by kind permission of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching from Dr. Kandel's *Examinations and Their Substitutes in the United States*, Bulletin Number Twenty-eight of the Foundation.

and was separated by a wide gap from the one who just managed to pass. Examinations of such a type have rarely been used either as a means of discovering where a pupil's weaknesses lie or as a basis for remedying these defects; still less have they been employed for diagnostic purposes, that is, to discover the type of course from which a pupil is most capable of profiting. The traditional examination, particularly if conducted by an external board, allowing for the somewhat greater choice of subjects which has been permitted, is still built on the assumption of identity of abilities rather than on a wide range of variability. Hence the difference of a few marks may determine whether a student is to be admitted, in a European country, for example, to a secondary school, or to a higher institution. Too frequently a career depends upon the hazard of one examination, marked by examiners who in order to maintain standards of fairness, detachment, and impartiality prefer to know nothing more about the candidate than is revealed in his papers.

'Such a conception of examinations may have been justified at a time when opportunities for secondary and higher education were selective on some basis or other, although there is ample evidence of dissatisfaction with and criticism of the traditional examinations for more than half a century and not always for technical reasons alone. The situation, however, is changing everywhere. The task which confronts educators today is not of separating the sheep from the goats, of dividing the population into those who have passed and those who have failed, or of setting up the curriculum as a hurdle to be overcome. With the inevitable prolongation of "infancy," in the sense used by John Fiske, due in part to economic reasons and in part to the extension of the compulsory age for school attendance, the problem has ceased to be one of selection and has become one of the distribution of education, or the discovery of "the right education for the right pupil under the right teacher." The success of an educational system can or should no longer

be measured in terms of the numbers who pass or fail in examinations but by the degree to which it has been able to discover the abilities and needs of pupils and students and has provided for them the type of education from which they are capable of profiting. And for this purpose the traditional type of examination cannot be used, for the problem is not merely one of selecting an *élite* or even *élites*, since the types of leaders required by modern society have increased in numbers, but of giving to all the type of education and instruction that will equip them, in accordance with their abilities, to be useful members of society.'

The place of examinations has received considerable attention in the past six years through the studies undertaken by the International Examinations Enquiry initiated by the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The first Conference on Examinations was held in Eastbourne, England, in 1931, and was attended by representatives from England, France, Germany, Scotland, Switzerland and the United States. It was decided as a result of this Conference to appoint national committees in each one of those countries except the United States where investigations into the problem of examinations had already been conducted for the past twenty-five years. The results of the enquiries conducted by each of the national committees all point in the same direction—that the marking of examinations is unreliable; that there is no concurrence between the marks of individual examiners marking the same papers at intervals of time, or between the marks of groups of examiners; that the lack of concurrence continues despite careful discussion of standards and of details of marking; that neither the traditional examination nor teachers' estimates nor school records have as good prognostic value as objective tests; and, finally, that the best guide to a pupil's aptitudes and abilities is to be found in a combination of all methods and the use of cumulative records supplying

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as much information as possible about each pupil, his growth and development, his personality, and his social and cultural background.

These results are corroborated by the history of examinations and their substitutes in the United States. Particularly significant is the development of the objective new type test which, while made possible by the techniques already established for the development of standardized and intelligence tests, may be used to test informally any subjects of the curriculum at any level of instruction. This type of test arose out of the criticisms of the traditional examinations on the ground that the marking was subjective and consequently neither valid nor reliable.

'The new objective type of examination is a form of test which seeks to reduce the weaknesses and defects of the written or essay type of examination and which aims to yield results which are objective and more valid, reliable, accurate, and comparable in similar situations than the old. The chief characteristic of the new type test is that it calls for a short answer by one or a few words, by a check mark, or by a number, and can be answered only if the individual under examination has the pertinent knowledge immediately and readily available. A very marked and important difference is that, while in the essay type of examinations the number of questions to be answered is limited particularly by the amount of time required for writing the answer, the new type test provides for a wider sampling of the content of the subject of the examination and is more comprehensive both in scope and extent and in range of difficulty. In place of the small number of questions which may be asked in the essay or long answer test, as many as from 50 to 100 or more items may be answered in an hour's new type or short answer examination. From this point of view alone the new type test reduces the element of chance or luck so far as the examinee is concerned because of the comprehensive

range of the questions selected; to this extent it is fairer to the students.

'A further advantage claimed for the new type test is that since the answers must be short and specific the irrelevant factors, which according to investigations may distract attention from the real marking of the essentials, are removed or reduced to a minimum. This means in turn that the personal equation or subjective opinion does not affect the judgment of the examiner. The marking or scoring is thus objective on a scale which consists of a series of small units easily agreed upon by competent examiners. The results are more accurate because only one variable, whether the answer is correct or incorrect, is measured at a time

'The new type test serves most of the purposes which the traditional examination may in the minds of some have been supposed to aim at but which it fulfilled only empirically and in a snapshot rather than in a detailed manner. The new type test furnishes more reliable information as to a pupil's achievement and, because of the range of the samplings, provides a better clue to his weaknesses; in the case of the abler pupil evidence may be secured as to whether he is working up to his capacity. It is thus an excellent basis for educational guidance, and, indeed, this function is beginning to be regarded as more important than the examination itself.'

The value of the new type test would even be increased by frequent repetition, provided accurate records were kept and suitably interpreted. As Dean Max McConn says:

'We should rather multiply examinations and tests, of many kinds, using them frequently, *but always informally, casually, and skeptically*; record the results, of course; correlate and study these results; study particularly the patterns of results in each student's cumulative record, in conjunction with personal impressions, teachers' grades, or, better, teachers' estimates, and all available facts in regard to the student's background and achievement; and base the

necessary administrative decisions, with respect to graduation, promotion, classification, and guidance on *the total picture* of the student's abilities, aptitudes, character and potentialities—to which total picture a considerable number of comparable test results would seem to me to contribute a vitally necessary part.'

To conclude that the movement which has been described is merely one to substitute the new type tests for the traditional examinations would be to place a wrong interpretation on it. Those who can speak with authority insist that the new type tests can measure only one but a very important aspect of the total process of education; they are equally insistent that other forms of examination—the oral and the essay type—also have their place. What is claimed for the tests is that they offer a more accurate, more objective, more reliable and comparable measure of a student's command of the field of study than can be obtained by the traditional examination alone. On the other hand the use of tests has made it clear that there is no single measure for predicting educational success. If correctly interpreted the development of objective tests points to the need to discover the kind of education from which an individual may be expected to profit. This means not merely an appraisal of a pupil's intellectual status as measured by an examination, but the collection of as complete information as possible about the intellectual, personal and social characteristics of the individual both in and out of school. If the central function of educational administration is the guidance of the individual to that kind of education which is most appropriate and adequate to his needs, interests, and abilities, such information must be both comprehensive and continuous. Thus arose the advocacy of the cumulative record card.

'Wherever efforts were inaugurated to discover information about the ability of pupils by means of tests given at a single time, as for example, in the last year of the high school course,

it was found that the tests must be pushed back earlier until it is proposed to administer such tests throughout a pupil's educational career. As information derived from tests was accumulated, it was equally recognized that still more must be known about the health and physical condition, the social and economic background, the character and everything that goes to make up an individual's personality. Such information to be of value must be secured over a period of years and recorded on a blank which lends itself to easy interpretation.'

A secondary school cumulative record form used in the United States provides for the recording of information on the following: name, religion, sex, date of birth; mental age, chronological age; intelligence quotients, school grade achieved; school grade attended; educational quotient; achievement tests and school marks; height and weight; photograph; schools attended; record of attendances and absences; causes of absences; discipline; unusual accomplishments; mental, emotional and physical experiences; extra-curricular experiences, athletic and non-athletic; clubs and offices; vocational experiences; educational plans; educational recommendations; vocational and professional preferences; interests reported; special defects; health; mental hygiene; social adjustments and home conditions; personality ratings and measurements. Information on these items is recorded for each calendar year in such a way that the progress of the pupil can be traced easily across the record form.

'The value of such information when recorded in full detail and continuously over a period of years lies in the use to which it can be put for purposes of educational guidance. As contrasted with the snapshot or spasmodic information which may be derived from a single examination or test, the cumulative record form presents a moving picture of the individual to be advised . . . Educational guidance is based on the theory that it is harmful to force pupils to follow courses for which they do not have the necessary

ability, a practice which may result in despair, a feeling of inferiority, habits of dependence, a smattering of knowledge, and superficial learning. On the positive side educational guidance points to the need of greater flexibility and more differentiation of curricula and courses; it does not mean the adaptation of education to the whims and caprices of the pupil, but an adaptation based on knowledge, as accurate as present techniques may discover, of what a pupil can do.'

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *The Reform of the Examination System*

Examinations have always had their critics but never so many or so well-informed critics as today. Within the last ten years there have been two important inquiries regarding the working of the examination system in different countries —one by the New Education Fellowship, the other by the Carnegie Corporation of America. Approaching the subject from very different angles, they have reached a similar conclusion, and the joint effect is most damaging. Under examination, the examination system in all its phases has come out a rank failure. It proves to have two very serious weaknesses: (a) the measurement of human capacities and their products, which it professes to make, is most unsatisfactory; (b) the effects on the educational and personal sides of school life are demoralizing.

In regard to the examination as a measuring device, there is serious weakness in respect of both validity and reliability. Criticism has mainly been concerned with reliability because it has been easy to demonstrate that no two examiners ever assign the same marks to a paper and no examiner marking the same paper at different times ever succeeds in repeating

his marks. But there is no less doubt regarding validity. It is always open to question whether an examination really tests what it professes to be testing: the more general an examination paper is, the more reason is there to suspect its validity.

But even if the examination instrument were perfect in the estimation of abilities, the system would still deserve condemnation because of the evil influence it exercises on school life. At the demand of the examiner, the schools are compelled to standardize both subjects and methods of instruction, in general disregard of varying capacities and needs; and the stress of teaching is laid on the external examinable aspects of subjects rather than on the deeper spiritual aspects. Much time which might be given to education is devoted to examining and the preparation for examination. The scholars are subjected to periodic strains and anxieties which have adverse effects on the health of body and mind. Initiative and spontaneous work are discouraged in them as well as in their teachers, because they do not make for good examination results.

What is to be done about examinations? Should they be abolished altogether in an ideal scheme of education? The new educator as a practical man would hesitate to let his logic carry him to this conclusion. He cannot but recognize that with all their limitations examinations are a valuable administrative device: that they do serve to keep teachers and pupils up to the mark; that they do provide a guarantee of educational efficiency for the State which finances the school system; that they do enable a more or less satisfactory selection of persons to be made both for promotions from one school stage to another and for posts requiring special knowledge and capacity.

The question as to substitutes for examinations is really a very complicated one. What is possible for a school with a highly efficient staff may not be possible for an ordinary

school. What is possible for a single school may not be possible for a national system of schools. The ideal would seem to be the disappearance of the examination. If one can trust in the moral atmosphere of a school in the realm of character, one should be able to have a like faith in the realm of intellect. But actually with a tradition of examinations firmly established it would be difficult to give effect to this view on any large scale. However, this does not mean that it could not be put into practice in a well-ordered school, especially in a school outside the routinized state system. There are some progressive schools which ignore the examination demands until they come very near, believing that their pupils if really educated will be fresh-minded, and take the examination hurdle in their stride. In place of the organization of work for the passing of examinations, they generally follow some form of the Dalton plan or a similar technique.

For schools which are not in a position to go all the way towards the abolition of examinations, the working ideal is the abolition of external examinations, putting in place of them the cumulative school record, which depends on the judgment of a succession of teachers throughout the whole career of the pupil. If need be, this regular testing of the pupils by their teachers could be supplemented by a more formal testing at special stages (for example, at the close of the primary period and at the school leaving age). For purposes of certification there is some advantage in a joint judgment of the teacher and an outside person of recognized competence. But even in this case it is important that such testing as takes place should be limited to a few subjects, and should be concerned mainly with the minimum essentials in the subjects. The danger is that internal examinations may be as grievous a burden as external and make no addition to the opportunities for free development. That has happened in some of the schools working under an accrediting system.

The presupposition, it must be emphasized, is that the teachers responsible for such important judgments should be men and women who are soundly trained for their work with an adequate knowledge of testing and measuring. If for any reason the teachers cannot be trusted, then school policemen in the form of examiners and inspectors must be brought in to see that their work is properly done and their pupils properly examined. But what an idea of education! If teachers cannot be trusted to examine they should not be trusted to teach. The basis of any satisfactory system of education is the competent teacher. And if the teacher is competent he should be left to manage his own business.

REKTOR LAURIN ZILLIACUS (Finland): *Examinations*

Everywhere in the civilized world where there are centralized examinations there is discontent; but the various factors in the situation are so tangled, and so many conflicting interests are involved, that it is by no means easy to point the way to a solution.

In most countries teachers are, on the one hand, dissatisfied with the examination system, and, on the other, going all out to bring their pupils up to the standard demanded by the examiners. University teachers everywhere are complaining about the scholastic achievements of those coming from the secondary schools; but the only remedy they have to suggest is the raising of the standard of examinations by making them more specialized and more competitive. Parents complain about the pressure brought to bear upon their children, and at the same time themselves bring pressure to bear on the teachers to get the children

through examinations. Doctors are constantly pointing out the physical and mental dangers of examination strain. Next there are the employers who insist upon a matriculation certificate. (Perhaps you have heard the story of the employer who asked an applicant for a position if he had his matriculation certificate. The answer was, 'I have my M.A.' 'I don't care about your M.A.', was the reply, 'have you got your matriculation?' That magic word goes a long way in the world of employers.) Finally, the administrators of our school systems also have their views on examinations which they regard as a means of evaluating and controlling the work of the schools. All these factors together make up the examination tangle.

Examination systems have grown up gradually with the increase in the number of candidates seeking certificates which entitle them to further education or open the doors to vocational or social advancement. They are the attempt of society to obtain a guaranteed product in the face of large numbers and a huge machine. But, unfortunately, they have become highly centralized and have more and more tended to exercise a dominating and standardizing influence on the whole education system.

As the examination system developed, however, doubts as to its efficiency and criticisms of its general effect on education became more and more common. This in turn led to research into the examination problem. Some of the first researches I know of were made in the United States about the year 1910 and were concerned with the reliability of marking. The investigators raised the question whether two different examiners would give the same marks for the same paper. The results were most disconcerting. In England similar investigations into the reliability of examinations were carried out, Dr. Ballard and others investigating examinations at different educational stages. These investigators paid special attention to the examination used to select children for secondary education, and found its reliability to be very low.

In 1927 the New Education Fellowship appointed an International Commission on Examinations which reported at the next world conference in 1929, and again at the Nice conference in 1932. The main conclusions of this enquiry have been published by the Fellowship in its book *The Examination Tangle and the Way Out*. As it was clear that much more research was needed, the Fellowship turned to the Carnegie Corporation and asked for funds for this purpose. Part of the projected research so interested the Carnegie people that they undertook it themselves, and the International Examinations Enquiry was begun.

Out of all this discussion and research certain definite questions emerge: What is the examination supposed to measure and what does it in effect measure? Are the measurements reliable and valid? What is the actual effect of examinations on the school system, what is it supposed to be, and what should it be?

We shall take these questions separately. What is the examination supposed to measure, and what does it actually measure? What it is supposed to measure is difficult to say. Sir Philip Hartog likes to ask this question: What can the candidate do who has just passed a school examination? Does that pass tell us what he is able to do? He has never yet, he declares, had a satisfactory answer. He says it is a different matter if you put the question to one of the professional bodies. The Institute of Chartered Accountants, for example, will tell you that the candidate who has just passed its examination can take full charge of all the work that comes into an accountant's office. In the same way, if you go to the College of Surgeons and ask what the candidate who has just passed his final degree can do, the answer will be, 'He is safe to let loose on the public to practise.' But when the question is asked concerning the ordinary school examination there is no definite reply because the purpose of the examination is so complex and so vague. It tries to combine two functions, first a diagnosis

of what the candidate has taken out of the school course, and secondly a prognosis of the child's capacity to profit by further education. As for the question of what the examination does in effect measure, the answer must be that the actual results expressed in marks are the net product of a great number of different factors. How the candidate feels on the day of the examination, his power of expressing himself in writing, his knowledge, his capacity to interpret examination questions, his nervous stability—all these and many other factors contribute to the result. Hence it is not surprising that investigations to date show a low correlation between examination indications and true conditions.

The results of investigations into the reliability and validity of examinations have been startling. In England, for example, 15 school certificate history scripts which had been awarded exactly the same 'middling' mark by the authority concerned were marked in turn and independently by 15 examiners, who were asked to assign to them both marks and awards of failure, pass or credit. The marks varied from 21 to 70! It was found, further, that when these examiners re-marked once more the same scripts after an interval of from twelve to nineteen months they changed their minds as to the verdict of fail, pass and credit in 92 cases out of the total of 210. Nor must it be imagined that these discrepancies in marking were confined to such subjects as English and history; they were found in every subject tested, including Latin, chemistry, mathematics and French. In France the same kind of investigation was conducted. The French are inclined to be rather complacent about their education system, and, indeed, they have much to be proud of—no one can fail to be impressed by the intellectual vigour and power of expression found among Frenchmen of all classes. Yet, disconcerting as the English results had been, the French showed even more astonishing discrepancies in marking. Investigations in other countries, for example,

America, Finland and Sweden, also exposed the unreliability of examinations in a striking way.

I come now to the function of the examination—what it does, what it is supposed to do, and what it ought to do. What it actually does is only too well known: the ruler has become the 'ruler' in another sense of the word. In every centralized system I know of, both the content of the syllabus and the methods employed are to a very high degree determined by the examination. What it is supposed to do is to help administrators to assess and to control the work of teachers, and to select children for further education. Personally I think that at least two of these functions are in themselves undesirable.

On the other hand, whatever may be said about external examinations, there will always be a place for internal tests. They are necessary as a test of the effectiveness of our methods of teaching and as a means of discovering the interests and abilities of children, and what, from the point of view of the demands of society, it is best to give them. As teachers we should, I think, use such tests extensively and make careful records of the development of the children. In this way we shall in time develop a technique of testing and guidance that will replace external examinations.

I shall conclude with a practical suggestion. The school leaving certificate should, I think, be free from university entrance requirements and in no instance accepted by the university as the entrance examination; but no candidate should be allowed to sit for the university entrance examination before he has gained the school leaving certificate. This certificate should be the guarantee of a good all-round school course and what constitutes such a course should to my mind be left to the teachers themselves to determine. As for those few who wish to study at the university, it is the business of the university itself to find suitable means of selecting them.

DR. SUSAN ISAACS (England): *The Function and Value of Pupils' Records*

If the aim of education be to foster the development of individual gifts and responsibilities, we need to have some means of recording the progress of the child as he passes through the school. We need information about his intellectual ability, his attainments, his social relations, his emotional development, in order to provide a basis for advice on important decisions at any period, or to give him special aid in any difficulties that may arise.

Such information needs to be based on systematic observation, with a uniform method of recording, and it needs to be cumulative over a space of years, to make a link between one school and another at different ages. It is the only alternative to the examination system as a means of selecting children for particular types of education or special opportunities.

These records of development need to cover all aspects of the child's growth. The assessment of intellectual ability is a relatively simple problem, since the standardized intelligence tests—group tests, the Binet-Simon or some other type of individual tests, and performance tests—can be used. School attainments are also easy to measure and to record. The more difficult problem arises with the more significant aspects of development—emotional attitudes, social relations and personality.

In England a number of educational authorities have been concerned with this problem, and one county educational authority has in recent years co-operated with the University of London Institute of Education in devising and testing out a comprehensive record of development intended to act as a basis for educational guidance in the schools. A special advisory sub-committee of teachers in this county was appointed to work with the Institute of Education, and

tentative record forms were devised and tested out in a certain number of selected schools. These were then modified and re-tested on the basis of numerous discussions between the teachers and the research workers.

The first record forms were very comprehensive. As a result of experience it was found possible to reduce their length and to lay greater emphasis on the dynamic as contrasted with the descriptive function of record. That is, instead of merely describing each pupil's abilities, interests and personality, more attention was given to the interpretation of these facts in terms of the pupil's own special needs and the ways in which they could be met.

These revised forms, which have now been published,¹ include two for children in the infant school, one to be filled up on admission, the other towards the end of the infant school period, one for use in junior and senior schools at any time thought desirable, and a fourth, which accompanies the others, for recording measures taken—'Notes on individual needs and measures taken to meet them, and results.' This card serves to emphasize the educational aim of the record, as distinct from its descriptive purpose.

The record forms cover the child's home circumstances (occupation of the parent, material conditions, home problems, notes on any special circumstances), his physical condition (including the teacher's observations, the school medical officer's report and recommendations, and a rating of physique), and his intelligence (both as estimated by the teacher and assessed by any group or individual test applied). The personality of the child is dealt with under various heads, according to his age and situation. With the entrant child, his attitude towards his teacher, towards other children and towards his surroundings, together with any outstanding good qualities, bad habits and special difficulties of personality

¹ *The Educational Guidance of the School Child.* Under the authorship of Professor H. R. Hamley, Dr. R. A. C. Oliver, Dr. H. E. Field and Dr. Susan Isaacs. Evans Bros. 1937.

are noted, as well as his bodily control, development of personal habits, and speech.

The second infant school form includes all these items, but the child's personality can now be dealt with in greater detail, since the teacher has had a longer time to observe him. The child's powers of observation, of imagination and inventiveness, his verbal reasoning, his self-confidence, sociability and reliability, together with any outstanding good qualities or special difficulties, are noted.

The attainments of the child in the infant school are not measured with any precise grading or assignment of class position. It is felt definitely undesirable to undertake this during the infant school years when broad attitudes and interests are much more significant than any detailed attainments. Progress in school subjects such as reading, writing, number, handwork and music, and in bodily skills, etc., is therefore recorded simply on a five-point scale, from A to E. Room is, as always, left for any special comments felt necessary.

The record form for junior and senior schools covers the same general ground, but the individual characteristics are described under broad heads. The children are rated with regard to (a) vitality, and (b) stability on a five-point scale. Disposition and characteristic moods and any outstanding features, including special difficulties of personality, are noted. The child's interests are also recorded, again on a five-point scale, under the five broad headings of Social, Practical, Active, Intelligent and Artistic. Attainments in this period of school life are dealt with by a definite rating and an assignment of position in class. An important check of adjustment at this age is included under the heading of 'General Educational Objectives.' It includes the four sub-groups: Effective Habits and Methods of Work, Social Adjustments, Healthy Attitude to Self, and Development of Moral Qualities.

These broad general headings are made concrete and vivid to the teacher in an accompanying manual by the discussion of typical situations and judgments. It is not suggested that this or any other record form could be used like a foot-rule by untrained observers. Experience and training in the use of the records, no less than their interpretation, is required. A list of brief suggestions accompanies the card, but fuller discussion of each point is given in the larger manual.

For example, what is implied by *Stability of Attitudes* in the Infant School Card is explained thus: 'A certain instability of feeling is normal in children under seven years. In these years the child is more readily mastered by the feelings of the moment, whether these be fear or anger, love or hate, than he is in later childhood. Settled attitudes towards other people are only beginning to develop. Too much stress must therefore not be placed upon the quality of stability in judging the development of children under seven; and indeed too great rigidity and unyieldingness of attitude towards the environment is definitely undesirable in these years. Yet children between five and seven years will show individual differences in their constancy of attitude towards the people around them. The child with very changeable attitudes will often show anxiety, moodiness, contrariness, or destructiveness when these do not seem to be provoked by any actual behaviour on the part of other children, or anything in his immediate environment. He may have days when he is friendly and co-operative even against difficulties, and even if other children are hostile; and on other days he will come to school contrary and moody and ready to cry or be peevish on slight provocation. Such a degree of instability suggests acute emotional conflict, and such a child needs special care. Even the more stable child, however, may become more "moody" and "touchy" for a time as a result of illness or special emotional strain; e.g., being moved from one group to another in the school, a change of teacher, a temporary displacement from the leadership of a group, the

birth of a younger child at home, illness or stress in the home life. It is important therefore to notice not only the general stability of the child's emotional attitudes but any special periods of change. It should be noted whether he is liable to change from day to day in his general attitude towards other children; e.g., friendliness, teasing, provocativeness, orderliness, and whether he is liable to be inexplicably moody and peevish or can be relied upon to be normally cheerful and friendly.'

Another example may be taken from the discussion of the Senior School Card. *Healthy Attitude to Self* is interpreted as follows: 'Some of the components of a healthy attitude to oneself are as follows: a dominant sense of well-being and inner harmony, not, of course, excluding periods of tension or conflict; self-respect and self-reliance; a sense of pride in one's physical fitness and of pleasure in self-expression and action; an attitude of naturalness towards the body and its functions; and an acceptance of the implications alike of one's abilities and disabilities.

'The attitude to self varies somewhat with age and sex, and in any case there is no standard pattern which a child's attitude ought to take. It is easier on the whole to define a healthy attitude to self negatively rather than positively; we are on safer ground in recognizing faults of emotional development which tend to result in wasteful inner conflict. Among the attitudes which are commonly connected with such tension is an extreme feeling of inferiority, or a sense of deprivation or shame, due to a failure to be reconciled to any irremediable handicap or disability such as the following: physical deformity; extreme shortness or tallness; social difficulties, such as poverty, the separation of the parents or illegitimacy; difficulties of complex origin, such as defects of speech, lack of success in school work or in games. Another typical symptom of an unhealthy attitude to self is an exaggerated self-centredness. This may take the form of conceit, of an inability to see the point of view of others,

or of a failure to feel genuine affection for others. Some allowance must, of course, be made for age. Generally speaking, self-centredness may be expected to diminish with age, though during puberty a brief recurrence of marked self-centredness and other attitudes which are characteristic of the young child is not unusual. In general we should expect a steady maturing of the attitudes to self and properly view with concern undue persistence of attitudes appropriate only at a much earlier stage of development.'

As final illustrations let me quote discussions of two headings appearing on the Infant Admission Card. '*Attitude towards other Children.*' Children under five will very commonly be shy and reserved with the others to begin with. The younger ones may remain aloof and nervous for some time. The majority of five-year-olds will quickly become eager to play with others, talkative and communicative. Very commonly their first social advances will take the form of too great boisterousness and even aggressiveness. A certain number will from the beginning show themselves quite friendly, active and helpful, willing to share toys and join in play with others. Many children at once tend to show qualities of domineeringness or readiness to bully, if not with all children, then with the younger or smaller ones. Others will from the beginning show a submissive docile attitude. It is useful to make a note of budding friendships or any special dislikes and enmities.

'*Attitude towards Surroundings.*' Many children after a short time spent quietly looking round, perhaps sitting still, will begin to explore the new environment of the classroom. They may do this in a distracted way, unable to settle down to play with any particular materials for more than a short time. In the first few days or even weeks, this means only that the child is not used to his environment, not sure what he can do with toys and apparatus, etc. If the flitting type of attention or a bewildered and suspicious attitude persists after some weeks, it is of greater importance. Children who

have not had much experience with play material will tend to be rather destructive with equipment, although accidental or experimental spoiling of play material can usually be distinguished from the deliberate destruction that springs from anger, jealousy or unhappiness. The child who is not in much emotional conflict will settle down to an eager interest in what his surroundings provide for him after a short time.'

After the records are gathered there arises the important problem of their interpretation. The recording of observations is not an end in itself, but only an instrument of more effective educational action. We only begin to understand the details of the records when we look at them as a whole and see the inter-relations between the various aspects of development. On this broader survey it might become clearer that an intelligent child's backwardness in attainments is due to malnutrition or emotional difficulties. On the other hand, the child who is poor in ability may be inhibited from using even his limited powers as fully as he might because of criticism at home or inferior teaching methods at school. It might be found that the out-of-school interests of a particular child are not being taken up and made use of in the school itself, and for that reason both attainments and social development are hindered. But the study of the records as a whole makes it possible to see what the child's individual needs are and to devise means of meeting them.

The gain, moreover, is not confined to the individual child whose particular needs are understood and dealt with. Through the study of the detailed records of individual children the teacher's general knowledge of the trends of development through successive years is greatly enhanced. Thus he is enabled to make better provision not only for the needs of particular children, but also for those of the group as a whole, and educational methods and organization are being profoundly affected by this more adequate knowledge of the children in the schools.

It is to be emphasized that the methods of study and of record-keeping that I have described are still tentative and experimental and that the whole problem should be approached in the spirit of enquiry and research. Even so far, however, the gain in understanding and in a more flexible attitude towards the child and his education has been very great.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Educational Guidance*

The guidance movement began with concern about problem children, children whose behaviour raised difficulties which parents and teachers found themselves unable to cope with under the ordinary conditions of home and school. It is with such children that child guidance clinics still mainly deal. But already the question is arising whether the methods which have proved effective in helping problem children would not yield an even richer return if employed with ordinary children. After all, they also present problems, and their problems do not differ in essential character from those of the problem children. There is the further consideration that if the minor difficulties were met in good time, there would be fewer problem children.

This view of guidance as valuable in the case of normal children is a revival of the ideal of individualising education which has always been in the forefront of the new education programme. The aim of the teacher-guide is to provide the help that every child needs from time to time.

There are three forms of this guidance. The first is guidance in the sphere of learning. Some children of limited intellectual capacity find difficulty in learning to read and to count: the teacher versed in the psychology of educational

disabilities can generally give the help which makes the difference between failure and success. The flash-card in reading, for example, has made facility in reading possible for many children of inferior intelligence. Some children of good ability find unexpected difficulty in some particular subject. The teacher with the knowledge needed for guidance can often discover the cause of the difficulty and, either by a special technique or by easing emotional strains, can remove it.

Guidance is also needed in the sphere of conduct. Every child has some idiosyncrasies and some children's idiosyncrasies lead to trouble with their fellows—older, younger or contemporary. Frequently the trouble is not very serious but serious enough to interfere with the happiness of the child and of other people. The problem here is more than a school one, but if the teacher is a judicious person as well as versed in the ways of the human soul he can sometimes enable the child to return to normality, and in any case he can make sure that the school life is an influence in the right direction instead of an adverse factor—as it often is when it deals with offences punitively instead of remedially.

The third form of normal guidance is in the sphere of vocation. The teacher who knows the pupil well is in a position to judge his capacities and potentialities better than anyone else. If he can add to the advantage of intimate knowledge of the pupil in his school life, the special knowledge required for guidance—knowledge of testing techniques, knowledge of the mental qualities required for particular jobs, knowledge of possible openings in trade or the professions—he can complete the task of the school by helping to find for the pupil the career to which his school life has led up.

At present we think of this guidance work as requiring an expertness beyond that of the ordinary teacher, and so far as it calls for special personal qualities that view is correct. But actually the only reason for calling in experts for guidance is the bad training that teachers everywhere receive. Once the

training of teachers is seen to call for a longer and more specialized course, then every teacher will get instruction in this art of guidance as a necessary part of the teaching art; and some teachers will specialize in guidance work as others specialize in teaching mathematics or arts and crafts.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Standardized Tests in Educational Practice*

The institution of achievement tests followed hard on the invention of the intelligence test. The establishment of standards of capacity led logically to an attempt to establish standards of performance in the school subjects.

Examinations are supposed to provide measures of school performance, but in spite of the talk about school standards there is a subjectivity about the results of the ordinary examination that leaves much to be desired from the point of view of scientific measurement. The standardization of school tests was designed to avoid the variability of personal judgment characteristic of examinations. There are various types of standardized tests: (1) measuring scales, such as have been devised to evaluate performance in writing and composition; (2) tests like those of Professor Burt to measure attainment in subjects like spelling and arithmetic on an age scale; (3) ordinary examination tests of known difficulty as ascertained by previous use.

In spite of the obvious advantage of tests which can be marked objectively and admit of comparison of the work which is being tested with carefully established norms, standardized tests have proved of limited value in school practice. This is due partly to the fact that they involve techniques which teachers with their present imperfect training

find hard to employ; and it is due partly to the fact that the use of the tests involves an expense greater than their manifest utility seems to justify. There are a few school systems like that of Detroit in the United States where standardized tests are employed to regulate the work done, but in Britain their use is only occasional. Enlightened teachers here and there use them in an attempt to check up on their work, but they do not always find it easy to interpret the results.

One obvious place for such tests is in examinations at particular stages in school life where common tests are applied over a wide area. However, their most valuable use under present conditions is in guidance work. Here diagnostic tests which permit the discovery of weakness in fundamental processes are most helpful.

So far as the ordinary teacher is concerned, the information supplied by standardized tests is generally of limited use. For most purposes an estimation of the individual pupil's work in relation to the work of the class, or of a group of classes of like standing, is sufficient under present conditions.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Vocational Guidance*

Guidance is a vital new idea which has come into educational practice within the last ten years. But it is really a new version of a very old idea. The good teacher has always tried to individualize education and give his pupils what help he could in the direction of their lives. One of the most helpful services has been in the sphere of vocation. The teacher with his knowledge of the pupil's interests and aptitudes has been able to indicate vocational possibilities and even to effect placements when employers came seeking recruits.

What need is there then for experts in vocational guidance? The answer is that the teacher, in spite of his special

knowledge of his pupils, works under some disadvantages. In the first place, he lacks the time needed to do justice to all his pupils—and not merely the best. In the second place, he lacks the special techniques which are needed to supplement the judgments based on common sense and experience. In the third place, he is apt to be short in the knowledge of vocational opportunities which universal placement requires. Hence the advent of the specialist in guidance work, which raises the question whether the job should continue to be done by the school instead of by this outside expert, and, in any case, what contribution the school has to make to the task of vocational guidance.

The general contribution the school can make is obvious. It is not called on to prepare its pupils for particular jobs. But that does not mean that it cannot give its pupils help in finding their niches in the world—only that it must not find the niches for them by anticipating their later choices. What the school can do is to awaken in its pupils a wide range of interests so that when the time of choice comes each has some notion of the direction in which he should turn for work that is worth-while for him. Actually it does this very imperfectly under present conditions. It is too much concerned with the instruments of learning—with the three Rs at the elementary stage, and languages and mathematics at the secondary stage—and in any case is biassed towards the intellectual pursuits. The school for the citizens of the future must open up a far wider range of interests for all sorts of children, for the practical-minded as much as for the bookish, for the average as much as for the superior. If the school is to be of service in revealing vocational capacities it must have a comprehensive curriculum through which the young people can in some fashion sample life and discover their own bents.

But more is needed than this general kind of help. The teachers can only keep the experts outside the schools if a sufficient number of them acquire the special methods which

the psychologist employs in estimating the abilities and aptitudes of the candidates for employment. There is no reason why this should not be done.

Consider the kind of knowledge which the teacher-guide requires:

1. The boy's general intelligence and his school record are both of great vocational significance. The careers master, who is both teacher and guide, must therefore be able to test, and to interpret the results in vocational terms.

2. Next comes the question of the special aptitudes required in different types of vocation and occurring in marked degree in those specially suited for the various occupations.

3. Then there is the question of the boy's special interests: whether, for example, he is more at home with things or with persons, and whether he prefers first-hand or second-hand contact with things or persons. This links up with the discrimination of temperamental qualities as these affect fitness for different occupations.

Beyond all this lies the field of placement. It is not enough to know what a boy or girl can do best. There is needed also a knowledge of the possible openings available and of the conditions of employment as these are likely to affect the young person when he becomes a worker. If the careers master is to be able to complete his job, he must make himself acquainted with the requirements of commerce, industry and the professions. But why not?

DR. E. G. MALHERBE (South Africa): *Retardation: Its Causes and Prevention*

Considerable confusion exists in the usage of the word 'retardation.' To many people it is synonymous with mental deficiency or feeble-mindedness—a mistake which leads not

only to confused thinking but may also lead to all sorts of errors in school organization.

Retardation is a *result* of many causes, of which mental deficiency is only one. A child may also be retarded because of starting school at an advanced age, frequent change of schools, bad health, or defective eyesight or hearing, or for any one or more of several other reasons. It is, therefore, wrong to identify a phenomenon like retardation with only one of its causes, even though that may be a very important one, as lack of intelligence undoubtedly is. I prefer to define retardation simply as *backwardness in scholastic work irrespective of causes*. And because the time element is the chief one in measuring it we shall regard it for statistical purposes as synonymous with *over-ageness*.

The next question on which a great deal of confusion exists is this: just how much must a pupil be over-age for his standard in order to be called retarded? Shall we call him retarded if he is only one month over-age, or six months, or one year, or two years, or three years? If we take the median age for every standard as the norm, we find, of course, that one half of the pupils will lie below and one half above that mid-point. Shall we then call one half of all our children retarded? Surely not. Exactly where, then, shall we draw the line?

The answer to this question must be based entirely upon practical considerations. I should say a pupil must be called retarded when his over-ageness in a particular standard demands special administrative action, owing to the slowness of his rate of progress. Drawing lines is arbitrary in any case. But it would seem that if we were to draw a line at a point two years above the age at which we usually expect the average child to be in a particular standard, that would set a limit beyond which older children would start to become a problem for that class.

In order to illustrate let us deal with round figures and assume that 8 is the normal age for pupils to be in Std. I,

and further that they normally take one year a standard. If a child is 10 years or older and still in Std. I, or 11 years or older and still in Std. II, that is, two or more years over-age for his standard, we regard him as retarded, sufficiently backward, that is, to menace the homogeneity of the class group he is in, and to merit special consideration. In ordinary schools—especially where classes are large—it is difficult for a teacher to do justice to the whole group if the range of age, which is more often than not an indication of the range of ability, is unduly large. I think a four-year range ought to be the limit for one teacher to handle in a large class. In any case, the line is arbitrary and should be based entirely on practical considerations. It is no use drawing lines when they are not going to mean something definite by way of administrative action.

How the two-year line works out for New Zealand is shown in the age-standard distribution table published by the Education Department. The figures are for 1929. (For some reason the Department no longer publishes these age distributions. This is unfortunate as such a table is in many ways the most valuable single set of statistics that a Department can publish.) In the table the two primer classes are grouped together, and while the majority of these pupils are under 7, there are 1,489 of them who are over 9.0 years. In Std. I there are 1,408 over 10.0 years, in Std. II 1,650 over 11.0 years, and so on. The total number thus retarded is 12,688 out of 210,303 pupils in the primary schools of New Zealand.

It is interesting to note how the *incidence of retardation* increases steadily from 2.5 per cent in the primer classes to 5.4 in Std. I, 6.4 in Std. II, 8.9 in Std. III, until it reaches a peak of 10.1 per cent in Std. IV and drops to 8.5 and 5.2 in Stds. V and VI respectively. The number of retarded children heaps up towards Stds. IV and V until a merciful age limit of 14 years releases them from compulsory attendance at school. Those who leave are generally the weaker ones and

the fact that they have been eliminated causes the percentage to drop in Std. VI. In the high school retardation is usually smaller in extent and the problem is not very significant, because the duller ones have been weeded out by the eliminative effect of the examinations which are taken at the end of the primary school stage.

So much for the incidence of retardation. The *extent or degree of retardation* can be seen from the following figures. Out of the 210,303 pupils in the primary schools:

41,357	i.e.	19.7%	are retarded	1.0	years and more
12,668	"	6.1%	"	2.0	"
3,318	"	1.6%	"	3.0	"
895	"	.4%	"	4.0	"

According to our view those retarded 2.0 years and more, that is, 12,668 or 6.1 per cent, merit special provision in the school organization, because the large majority of them must have failed at least twice in their school career and are manifestly not keeping pace with the so-called average child on whose tempo the whole school organization and syllabuses and methods are based. But supposing for argument's sake it is considered that the ordinary class teacher should be able to cope with those who are only 2 years retarded, and that I have drawn my line too far up, then what about the 3,318 who are 3 years and more retarded? In actual fact the school system in 1929 made special provision for 466 backward children. That number was, however, very small when compared with the 3,318 who, without the slightest question, needed special treatment.

The most recent figures show that there are 510 pupils in special classes and 284 in special schools, a total of 794. What the extent of the retardation is today, however, I cannot say, since these figures have not been published in recent years. The chances are that it is relatively less today than it was in 1929. At any rate that is what I found in South Africa. In 1922 the percentage was 19, in 1929 it was 15, and today it is

about 10. This decrease in South Africa is due to several factors, but chiefly to a departure in recent years from the old lock-step system of promotion by which children were mercilessly compelled to repeat their standards if they happened to do badly in some subject like arithmetic on the day when the inspector visited the school and promoted or failed the pupils.

Before I discuss the causes of retardation let me just mention the fact that the different State Education Departments in South Africa have now all adopted the definition and measure of retardation previously referred to in publishing their annual age-standard statistics, and in making comparisons between different years and between the various provinces of the Union of South Africa regarding the rate of progress of pupils through school.

Before discussing the remedies of retardation, it is essential that we first try to indicate the relative potency of the various factors or causes responsible for the phenomenon.

(a) *Late entrance age:* It has often been urged that commencing school at an age above the normal is largely responsible for over-ageness or retardation. The only statistics available on this point in my own country are those I collected in 1930 in connection with a survey of the educational system in South Africa. From about 2,200 schools I obtained reliable information in respect of the ages at which 60,000 European pupils started school. I have every reason to believe that the data were representative of the country as a whole. I found the following distribution:

<i>Entrance Age</i>	<i>Percentage of pupils</i>					
below 7 years	-	-	-	-	-	43.3
at 7 years	-	-	-	-	-	41.2
at 8 years	-	-	-	-	-	10.6
at 9 years	-	-	-	-	-	2.9
at 10 years	-	-	-	-	-	1.1
at 11 years and older	-	-	-	-	-	.9

Median entrance age: 7.16 years

Of course, children enter school much later in South Africa than in New Zealand. Our country is much more sparsely populated and consequently it is impossible for children at the tender age of 5 and 6 to walk or travel (mostly on donkeys) long distances to school.

I found that, even in South Africa where the incidence of retardation is fairly high, in the case of 90 per cent of the pupils late entrance could not possibly have been a factor causing retardation. In less than 10 per cent of the cases it *might* have been a cause; it was not necessarily one because it is a well-known fact in South Africa that many children commencing school at an age of over 9.0 years cover the first few standards or at least the primer classes at a faster rate than one a year.

In order to get nearer to the truth regarding the causes of retardation I made a study of 20,000 retarded pupils in South Africa in respect of the following points: (a) age, (b) standard, (c) age of starting school for first time, (d) standards failed, (e) occupation of parent, (f) economic and social condition of home, (g) size of family and positional order of retarded child in the family, (h) other relevant factors pertaining to malnutrition, physical and mental defects, illness, frequent change of school, etc., which may have caused retardation.

The conclusions which follow are based on these facts and some others which I gathered in connection with a mental and scholastic test survey of South African pupils—a study which lasted nearly three years. Of course, it is impossible to give here anything more than just the most general conclusions. I have not the slightest idea to what extent they would reflect conditions in New Zealand as I have not been able to obtain similar data for this country.

We have concluded that in the case of 88 per cent of the pupils retarded over 2.0 years retardation could not possibly have been due to late commencement of school. Let us see what other causes are at work.

(b) *Repeated failure:* Out of every 100 pupils retarded 2 years and more:

94	had failed at least once
73	" " " twice
16	" " " three times
4	" " " four and more times

The reason for this very serious situation in South African schools is to be found in the lock-step system of promotion initiated by the system of individual inspection which prevailed in South Africa until recently. This dates from the time when 'payment by results' was instituted in England in the sixties, and the system was continued in South Africa long after it had been discarded in England.

As a result of this repeated failure in school the percentage of those retarded heaps up towards Stds. IV and V until they reach the compulsory age limit at 16 and manage to escape this soul-destroying process of repeated failure. That we have these children in the school cannot to a certain extent be avoided. But the damage is done by dragging these less privileged children along the big central highway prepared for normal children, to the detriment of the latter as well as the former.

The fact that only a very small percentage of our 320,000 primary school children are in special classes proves that our school standards are veritable beds of Procrustes on which 32,000 retarded children have to be tortured by repeated failure. One needs only experience with children and a little imagination to realize the tremendous effect of this repeated failure on the attitude towards life which such children develop. I found in South Africa that a school system which allows this sort of thing is actually breeding poor whites, a characteristic of many of whom is that they are so used to failure at school that it does not worry them afterwards. A boy who has it thrown at his head that he is the failure of

the class comes to believe that he *is* a failure and lives up to that belief.

The real damage that is done is not so much that the child does not reach a certain level of scholastic attainment before he leaves school, but that he loses his self-respect through not experiencing any sense of achievement in school. If the school's activities were only sufficiently diversified, the boy, while he might be weak in, say, arithmetic, would at any rate find something in the school which he could do better than other boys, and could hold his head up because he would know that he was master of something. Among the boys in two of the largest trades schools in the Cape Province, I found that 59 per cent had failed once or more in their primary school careers. Luckily for them, they have found their way to a trades school, where they can at least have the joy of some achievement, even though it may be shoeing a horse, or making a table or a cabinet.

There are, however, two features in our system which have in the past made it practically impossible for the South African adolescent to get a real education, one away from the beaten matriculation path, one that would fit him for life's needs. I refer in the first place to the artificial dualism between so-called cultural and vocational education, a dualism which has in South Africa been accentuated by a further dualism of administrative control. The Provinces control primary and secondary education, while agricultural and vocational education are under the Union.

In the second place, if we go back a little to the time when the existing generation of adults was at school, we find that industrial and vocational education was looked upon as the education particularly suited to the needs of the destitute, the mentally defective and the delinquent. This fact tended to put these forms of education beyond the pale of the aspirations of the self-respecting adolescent. We do not seem to realize what a terrific handicap to the character-building function of education lies in the fact that most of our children are deprived

of the pleasure of making things of value with their hands. After all, Jesus of Nazareth had his training as a carpenter before he started on his spiritual mission as the Saviour of Mankind. I have not the slightest doubt that keeping small children at desks for hours each day, fussing with word and number symbols, is the cause of much serious retardation in our schools. Of course, public prejudice has been largely responsible for the conservation of our school organization and its soul-destroying effects.

The following pen-picture typifies an attitude of mind which really lies at the bottom of our whole retardation problem. It is by Angelo Patri, one of New York's greatest schoolmasters, and one of the most able yet sympathetic people at whose feet I ever had the privilege of sitting as a student. He is here discussing complaints to which a school principal must listen:

'The next complaint came from an entirely different source. This time it was Mary Ann's mother who spoke. Mary Ann was in the "Defectives' Class" and would stay in that class outside and inside school until the earth closed over her.

'Mary Ann's mother was a picturesque figure in her sport skirt, an antiquated basque with a brave row of steel buttons down the front, a pert sailor hat sailing under an aggressive quill. In her earnestness she went directly to the teacher.

' "Teacher dear, Mary Ann's doing foine, foine. She hasn't tore the baby since I don't know whin, and she's getting that civil you wouldn't believe it. Hardly a bad word out of her mouth now, and she goes to Sunday School with Bettie. I'm proud and thankful to ye. But that's not what I came to ask ye. Just drop them bastits you're having her makin', and them drills she fiddles her time away in and teach her to read. Teach her to read so she can learn her catechism and save her immortal soul and then I don't care. But in God's name, *teach her to read.*"'

'And Mary Ann's mother broke down and wept.

"There you are. From the highest to the lowest, the book and the book knowledge shall save you. It shall even save your soul.

'Many parents believe that this is education. They covet knowledge, book knowledge for their children. Rich and poor alike want their children done up in little packages, ready to show, ready to boast of. They fear freedom, they fear to let the child grow by himself. Because the parents want this sort of thing, the school is built to suit—a book school—one room like another, one seat like another, each child like his neighbour.'

The conclusion I come to is that the school authorities and teachers and parents who are party to a system which tolerates and even sanctions repeated failure on a gigantic scale, while they are seemingly blind to its character-destroying effects going on under their very eyes day after day, year after year, do not deserve the name of educators. And worse still, they are rank hypocrites when in the face of all this they continue to say piously that it is the function of the school to build character and not to impart mere knowledge. Why don't they say straight out that they are cramming children for examinations—success to the quick and the devil take the hindmost?

Apart from the moral loss which is sustained by repeated failure there is considerable financial wastage involved. The cost of educating a primary school pupil for a year in South Africa is £18. Taking 30,000 as the number of retarded children who have repeated their standards twice or more we find that this repetition costs the State over half a million pounds every year which must be classed as wasteful expenditure. I say *wasted* because it does not do a child any good to re-teach him things that he has already been doing over and over again for more than two years. It does him harm. When one looks at the petty economies that are often made in education while this big sum is wasted every year,

it seems very much like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

Of course, it would be overstating the case to suggest that if pupils did not fail the services of so many teachers could be dispensed with. Even though pupils were never to fail, you could not evaporate them. They would still have to attend school within the limits of compulsory education. Neither do I wish to suggest that about half a million pounds less would be spent on the education vote if children were not to repeat their standards. An improved system involving a diversified curriculum and better methods will not cost less. What I do say is that from the study of retardation I made in South Africa it would seem that in our primary schools on the score of retardation alone about half a million pounds must annually be classed as wasteful expenditure. What the position is in this country I do not know, but I would suggest that it is a topic which would amply repay investigation. Perhaps the Council for Educational Research would be willing to sponsor such an enquiry.

We have thus far mentioned two immediate causes of retardation: (*a*) late entrance age and (*b*) repeated failure. They are, however, themselves the *effects* of other, more basic causes. Late entrance age has, for example, been found to be highly correlated with factors like sparsity of population (+.76) and poverty (+.77) and may well be intimately connected with the primary causes of repeated failure.

The following may be mentioned among the *primary* causes of repeated failure, more or less in the order of their potency:

(i) *Lack of intelligence* is probably the biggest single cause. We know that a certain level of intelligence is required to pass certain school standards. The higher the standard the higher the level of intelligence required. For example, we found in South Africa as a result of a national survey of the intelligence of school children that the chances of a pupil with an I.Q. below 84 reaching Std. VI are extremely small and

his hope of passing still more remote. The chances that a child with an I.Q. below 89 will study beyond Std. VI are negligible. Of the total school population 7.6 per cent falls below 84 and 15.6 below 89. Here we have, therefore, a definite indication of the minimum number of pupils who will not attain these scholastic standards as long as they remain of the same nature and standard as they are today; 7.6 per cent will not reach Std. VI and 15.6 per cent will not pass it and go beyond. These are minimum figures, because there are other factors besides intelligence (for example, temperamental and character traits like industry and perseverance) which contribute to school success. In actual fact 44 per cent of our pupils in South Africa left school before passing Std. VI (1929 figures) and 66 per cent did not proceed to the secondary school. These percentages are much lower today.

In order to gauge the effect of intelligence in determining retardation let me give you here the frequency distribution at the various levels of intelligence below an I.Q. of 100, according to the curve of normal distribution:

<i>Intelligence level</i>		<i>Percentage</i>
Below 100 I.Q.	- - - - -	50.0
" 95 I.Q.	- - - - -	33.7
" 90 I.Q.	- - - - -	20.1
" 85 I.Q.	- - - - -	10.3
" 80 I.Q.	- - - - -	4.6
" 75 I.Q.	- - - - -	1.7
" 70 I.Q.	- - - - -	.6
" 65 I.Q.	- - - - -	.26

By using the percentages of the above table one can easily calculate how many children will be involved if it is decided to make special provision in the school system for children, say, below an I.Q. of 80. They would constitute 4.6 per cent of the school population. We saw above that the percentage of those retarded more than 2.0 years was 6.1, so that to make provision for them would be much the same as making special

provision for those falling below an I.Q. line drawn somewhere between 80 and 85. That is where I think the line should be drawn when creating special classes in school.

My investigation in South Africa showed clearly that the large majority of those retarded two years and more had I.Q.'s below 85. Of course, there were some amongst those retarded who were above this level just as there were some below it who were not retarded. The latter were, however, to be found only in the lower classes in the school.

(ii) *Environmental factors.* When I speak of lack of intelligence as a factor I mean intelligence as measured by an intelligence test. This itself may be secondary and due in its turn to other more fundamental causes. While there are no doubt certain definite limits which nature sets through hereditary factors which would, quite apart from environmental conditions, by themselves be quite sufficient to bar the child from reaching the upper standards of the school, we cannot be sure that these inborn or embryological factors are reflected in a pure way by the intelligence test scores. The attainment of a child in an intelligence test is determined largely by environmental factors, such as schooling, feeding, and home conditions influencing him even from the pre-natal stage, as well as by the hereditary factors. To determine the relative contribution of each is very difficult as it involves the big problem of nature versus nurture.

While it is the most reliable measure we have been able to devise up to date, I must be honest with you and state that an intelligence test result is only an indirect and somewhat uncertain indication of the purely innate factors. The chances, however, seem to be that, owing to the operation of natural selection in population groups, there is a close concomitance between the hereditary and the environmental factors. They seem to work in a mutually intensifying way and have a cumulative effect in the end. Where, for example, there happens to be a low or weak congenital equipment of mental and physical powers, there one may often expect that environ-

mental causes such as neglect, malnutrition, unhygienic living conditions, cultural isolation, etc., are operative also to a more or less marked degree. I have found by actual study of large numbers of families that the weaker types tend to drift into the poorer and more inhospitable areas. Then adverse physical and cultural conditions accentuate these weaknesses.

I worked out the correlation between poverty and retardation in all the districts of the Union of South Africa and found it to be $+ .77 \pm .06$. The coefficient of correlation between retardation and the percentage of subnormals in the population (as tested by individual tests) is $+ .82 \pm .05$. I also made an analysis of the economic condition as well as the occupations of the fathers of 20,000 retarded children; 9.6 per cent came from homes which were good economically, 24.3 from average homes and 66.1 from poor homes.

On analysing the other primary causes for retardation I found them to arrange themselves in the following order of potency:

1. *Malnutrition* and *ill-health* occurred about equally often and constitute the strongest factors. They were found to be operative in about 12 per cent of the retarded cases.
2. *Physical and mental defects* were found only in 7 per cent of the cases.
3. *Frequent change of school* occurred in 6 per cent of the cases.
4. *Long distance from school* causing late entrance (2 per cent), was a factor causing a certain amount of initial but not necessarily permanent retardation.
5. *Miscellaneous factors* like language medium, about 1 per cent.

The relative potency of these factors was corroborated by another study in which, using the results of standardized scholastic and intelligence tests applied to 30,000 children representative of the nation, I followed up carefully, with a view to ascertaining the socio-economic conditions under which they lived, two contrasted groups of children: (a) those

in the upper 10 per cent and (*b*) those in the lower 10 per cent of each age-group from 10 to 16 years. Lack of time prevents me from giving the details here.

Once causes are clearly indicated, the methods of prevention become fairly obvious. Many of the primary causes lie beyond the scope of the school—they are to be found in the home, in socio-economic conditions which would require remedies of a very far-reaching character. The school, however, can do much by building up favourable attitudes and by instruction in proper feeding and in the art of home-making, thus alleviating these conditions for future generations.

There are, however, remedies which lie within the scope of the education system itself. The problem of retardation arises from the conflict of two factors, the fact of human inequality and the desire of the teacher and the public at large for a standardized product in a certain time. It arises from attempting to fit the child to the school system instead of fitting the school to the child.

Actually there should be no such thing as failing a pupil. If there is failure it is the school that has failed. It is the teacher that has failed not the child. The teacher's function is to make the most of the child as he finds him, not merely to sit in judgment upon him. The whole problem arises from the fact that people generally are much more interested in the end-products of the school than in the *process* of achieving those products. The latter is really the thing that counts.

More specifically, the following are some of the remedial and preventive measures which may be followed. The first step is to *ascertain causes*. As far as possible retarded pupils should be classified into two groups:

(*a*) those who are retarded owing to disabilities of a more or less *temporary* nature.

(*b*) those who are retarded owing to disabilities of a more or less *permanent* nature.

The disabilities of the pupils in the first group are of a remediable nature and the chief aim should be to give them

such special attention that they may take their places as soon as possible in the normal class routine designed for average children. Here we are thinking of disabilities due to starting school late, malnutrition, etc. The second group will need special treatment right through their school career and school authorities should see to it that such facilities are provided.

The nature of the special provision will depend largely on the size of the classes and on the size of the school in which such retarded children are found. Where the classes are small, that is, below 20, it should be possible for the class teacher himself to deal with the one or two retarded children. In the case of remediable difficulties he should coach the children so as to enable them to catch up with the rest as soon as possible. Where the disability is permanent he should let the child keep his own pace and follow a special course without loss of standing among his fellows of more or less the same age. This procedure is quite practicable in the small one- and two-teacher schools.

Where, however, the classes are large, it is impossible to expect the ordinary class teacher to give the necessary individual attention to retarded pupils without sacrificing the interests of the normal and the bright children. They should therefore be segregated in a special class of not more than 15 or 20 and entrusted to a specially qualified teacher.

If provision is to be made for 6 per cent of the school—the proportion of retarded pupils in the whole school system—then an average primary school of 200 to 300 pupils will have enough such children to warrant their segregation in a special class under a specially trained teacher. A school of 500 and more will warrant two teachers for the special class. Of course, the proportion will vary according to the socio-economic conditions of the environment in which the school is situated. It will be bigger in the slums than in the fashionable suburbs. Even for big cities I prefer the special class in the same school to a separate school for dealing with retarded children. Not only is there less chance of parents objecting to sending

their children to a 'defectives' school—they can always say that their child, even though backward, is attending the ordinary public school—but there is always a better chance of getting the children who are only temporarily retarded taken into the ordinary classes as soon as they have made up the lost ground. Above all must be avoided any attitude towards such a class which would stigmatize it as, say, 'the boobs' class.' Whether such an attitude will develop or not on the part of the pupils or the parents will depend almost entirely on the way the whole situation is handled by the principal and by the teacher of the special class. For example, in a large boys' school in a university town in South Africa one of the professors' children, a bright boy, came and begged to be allowed to become a member of the special class in that school, 'because the boys in that class are always *doing* things.' Because of the excellent work which the teacher was doing in that school the special class had developed a position of prestige for itself. Not only were the pupils playing the percussion band for the school, but they usually provided the woodwork frames and scenery for the plays which the boys in the school staged.

In such a special class each child has a chance of progressing more or less at his own rate, unfettered by the lock-step of the ordinary standards. Instead of experiencing repeated failure and humiliation, he is given a chance to maintain his self-respect by tasting the joy of achievement. Even though his scholastic attainments may be below the average, he is sent into the world at least with a few desirable character traits. More and more researches are showing the healing quality of the good teacher's encouragement to backward children, the amazing effect of seeing that every pupil gets the satisfaction of some sort of success before the school day ends. The futility of punishment as a spur to learning is being made more certain by carefully appraised studies of school successes and failures.

Of course, there are about a dozen recognized methods of grouping and promoting children at school so as to allow as far as possible for the varying rates of progress. A good summary of these is found in Dr. Wyndham's book on *Ability Grouping*.

We are not here considering the lowest grades of intelligence, that is, the definitely feeble-minded who fall below a point somewhere between 50 and 60 I.Q. These, we feel, should be segregated in special institutions, after having been duly certified by a trained psychologist as well as by the medical inspector of schools. The better the available facilities, the nearer 60 will be the border line, and the poorer the facilities the nearer to 50. Drawing lines is an arbitrary business in any case and depends largely upon the availability of suitable facilities. People have become alarmed in England owing to the alleged recent increase in the number of subnormals. The increase, however, is due merely to the fact that better provision is made for them in special institutions today than in former years.

Returning, however, to the special class in the ordinary school, one is faced by the practical question of the selection of pupils. Who is to make this selection? Ideally, it should be made by the school psychologist after he has administered a battery of scholastic and intelligence tests of which the individual intelligence test is one. On the basis of these results and the child's record, a satisfactory diagnosis of the relative permanency of the child's disabilities, as well as a prescription of the educative measures to be followed, should be possible. Failing this, various procedures have been resorted to. I shall mention a few. The principal simply collects those in each class who, in his and the class teacher's judgment, are so backward that they cannot profit by the ordinary class teaching and segregates them into an opportunity or special class. Then, too, it has been found advisable and useful to give special short courses of training in mental testing to certain inspectors, who by reason of their skill in the handling

of children as well as their knowledge of psychology, are considered specially fitted for testing children. They can then select the children for special classes when on their ordinary rounds and, as officers of the Department, can arrange for the establishment of such classes in the most expeditious way. This practice has been followed in South Africa, for example, in the Orange Free State. In other centres, usually where there is a university, the psychology department has been called to assist by doing the testing.

Special courses of training are necessary for teachers of special or opportunity classes. In South Africa this is given in connection with the university faculties of education and the course lasts four years after matriculation. It includes a special study of child psychology as well as a thorough training in various forms of handicraft and music. Good special-class teachers are often recruited from the ranks of experienced kindergarten or infant class teachers.

As special classes have to be small—not more than fifteen—and need separate rooms and specially qualified teachers, provision for the retarded child is an expensive business. But it is the kind of thing which must be well done to make it worth doing at all. In South Africa the *extra* cost has been estimated to be £12 10s. 0d. per pupil in a special class. The Union Government has recognized the importance of special classes in so far as it gives an extra subsidy equal to half the extra cost, in addition to the ordinary subsidy of £14 which it pays to the Provinces for every child in average attendance in the ordinary classes of the school.

As far as I can see provision for the retarded child in New Zealand seems to be inadequate in three important respects:

1. The ordinary classes are far too large and this precludes any individual attention to retarded children in these classes.
2. Only about 800 retarded children are receiving some sort of special attention, while the statistics show that about 12,000 definitely need it.

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1. The ordinary classes are far too large and this precludes any individual attention to retarded children in these classes.
2. Only about 800 retarded children are receiving some sort of special attention, while the statistics show that about 12,000 definitely need it.

3. Hardly any provision is made for the training of teachers for special classes, nor does the salary attached give any recognition of the exacting nature of the work. In South Africa the course of training lasts four years and is given at the university, which provides proper practice facilities in special-class work.

I plead for a more serious consideration of the problem not only in the interests of the retarded child, but also in the interests of the brighter and normal pupils whose progress is often hampered by the presence of weak ones in the same class. Whatever provision is made, the main point to remember is that education is not merely the pushing of pupils over certain fixed hurdles, the bright ones going faster by means of rapid or double promotion and the duller ones going more slowly. I doubt the wisdom of rushing bright young pupils at an accelerated rate through school and landing them at university at a socially immature age, however clever they may be. I much prefer to give the brighter ones enriched curricula and to differentiate in that way, rather than by the method of mere chronological acceleration. Instead of looking at the school system as a sieve whose chief function is elimination, let us rather look upon education as an irrigation canal which brings life-giving water to the small undergrowth, to the flowers as well as to the giants of the forest, that is, fructifies all levels of intelligence and strata of society.

Christ recognized human inequality and in his parable of the talents showed plainly that he does not expect the same end-product from everybody as do we in our school system. There are children who have received five talents to start with and others only one. Are we not, by our practice of repeatedly failing pupils, party to the burying of even this one talent? 'Every normal man, woman and child,' says Professor Spearman, 'is a genius at something, as well as an idiot at something. It remains to discover what—at any rate in respect of the genius.' This process of discovery of talent

at all levels is becoming more and more the main task of the teacher and guidance is fast taking the place of a process of merely producing a tale of bricks in the form of examination results. This is the new point of view which I would like to stress in considering the education not only of the retarded, but also of the average and very bright children.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Post-Primary Education for All*

THE term 'post-primary' is sometimes used to denote a type of education inferior to the traditional secondary education. But in a very real sense all post-primary education may be described as secondary education—the education that everyone needs in the teens.

Secondary education for all is the ideal of the twentieth century. The great accomplishment of the nineteenth century was the establishment of universal elementary education, giving command of the instruments of learning, in all civilised countries. The great task before the world now is to universalise secondary education. Even if the United States had not already got this length it would be evident from the forces at work that this must inevitably come. Elementary education must lead beyond itself. It is not enough to read and count. There must be acquired the ability to use these instruments of learning properly. This is reinforced by the growing consciousness of the need for the training in good citizenship which can only be given in the adolescent years and for the satisfactory occupation of increasing leisure to keep young people off the labour market.

The suggestion that every boy and girl should get a secondary education at once raises the objection that not all are able to profit by the academic studies. But nobody proposes to make this old kind of secondary education universal. The bookish education which leads up to the university came into being centuries ago to meet very different needs from those of modern men and women. It was an education suitable for a select few, and is a poor enough thing for their modern successors, and quite unsuitable for the ordinary person.

Its shortcomings are many. The languages and mathematics which are its staple subjects are pedantically treated and come too little into relation to the common life of man. Modern interests are either dealt with scantily or ignored altogether; practical concerns, music and the arts, the social studies, get but a perfunctory treatment. The defects of subject-matter affect the methods of teaching. There is little call for creative personal work in a scheme of learning that requires the subordination of the learner to the accepted knowledge of the past.

Plainly, the new secondary education that is to develop the capacities of all the pupils must be very different. So far, it is true, the post-primary instruction for the non-academic has been disappointing, being either a vain attempt to modify the existing secondary education in view of their limitations, or a dull continuation of the existing elementary education. If teachers only realised it, the extension of education for everybody up to the age of 16 presents a great opportunity to the school. Here is a new province of education waiting to be opened up, which is free from any oppressive tradition and still unaffected by the blight of examinations. There is a chance to make secondary education for the average boy and girl—with intelligence quotient round about 100—something quite new, involving a new curriculum, new methods, new teacher-pupil relations.

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The new curriculum must take account both of social and of personal needs. It must, on the one hand, prepare the young

person for his place in society as worker, neighbour, parent and citizen. It must, on the other hand, provide the kind of education which yields personal satisfaction in the sphere of physical performance, in the sphere of the fine things (crafts and arts), in the sphere of workaday knowledge.

The new methods must be based on projects, not on subjects. The teacher must accept the fact of different capacities and different interests, and not attempt to force a uniform culture on everybody. It is the things that are learned with personal satisfaction that really matter at this stage. Whatever else is done, care must be taken to avoid the domination of examinations. The things that are most worth learning in the adolescent years are not examinable.

The new relation between teacher and pupil is the fundamental fact in a good secondary education. The whole purpose of education is the forming of good persons. Subjects and methods are only means to that end and avail nothing if the teacher is the wrong kind of person himself. A proper respect for the personality of the adolescent learner is essential. That calls for a new kind of discipline from within, in place of the traditional discipline that depends on regulations and on punishments for their breach.

DR. I. L. KANDEL (U.S.A.): *The Education of the Adolescent*

The crucial problem everywhere is the education of the adolescent, or post-primary education, a problem which raises questions of administration, organisation, age of differentiation, curriculum and guidance. Educational systems have grown up piece-meal and in separate compartments—elementary, higher elementary, secondary, technical and so on—with out any articulation and often under separate administrative

authorities. It is now recognised that primary education is an inadequate preparation for modern life, that education must be prolonged in the interests of both individual and social welfare, and that the traditional concept of secondary education is not well adjusted to the abilities and interests of large numbers of pupils.

It is a simple matter to bring all types of schools under a single administrative authority. It is difficult to reorganise different types of schools into a single articulated system. It is still more difficult to devise adequate measures of differences of abilities. The traditional method of examinations for selection has been proved unreliable and inaccurate. The present trend is in favour of a cumulative record card which will reveal by as many different devices as possible all that can be known about a pupil.

There is general agreement that differentiation should take place at about the age of eleven, but there is some danger that this differentiation may be so rigid as to result in a type of educational stratification which may be as harmful as the traditional social stratification. All pupils have a right to a general education for as long as they can profit by it. In a multi-bias school this can be taken care of; it can also be safeguarded when different types of schools exist by insisting on a common core of curriculum for all. This common curriculum should give priority to living interests and should include: (1) English language and literature, great stress being placed on the ability to read and interpret the printed page; (2) social studies, including history, geography and economics, but under no special name; (3) sciences and mathematics, not the physics, chemistry and mathematics dictated by the university system, but rather an 'intelligent man's guide to the sciences,' involving many branches to enable the pupil to understand the world around, and sufficient mathematics for the ordinary needs of life; (4) music and art. Differentiation should be considered not so much as a curricular problem as one of adapting methods to the abilities of the pupils. The

whole problem of the education of the adolescent must be viewed as a whole and not merely as one of adding new types of schools or courses while leaving traditional vested interests undisturbed.

DR. CYRIL NORWOOD (England): *Coming Changes in Education*

The changes which I have in mind are changes which I hold to be desirable, which many people are coming to hold desirable, and which, therefore, I think are likely to come about. They are not changes in administration nor yet changes of the social system that I have in mind, nor do I mean to indulge in broad generalisations: for these, though they may be impressive, do not get you very far. If I may put my subject very briefly, it is this. The content of education in the past has been determined by the needs of the few, and ultimately by the demands of the universities which cater for the few. But education today has to meet the needs of the many, and the traditional education does not fit those needs. What are the developments which are called for, and what changes must we make in the curriculum if we are to produce that really educated democracy which alone can implement and preserve the democratic ideal? This is a very practical question, and I shall try to give to it a clear and definite answer.

I have little doubt that here in the Dominions, as is the case in the Old Country, educational discussions, especially when they deal with coming changes, have a way of becoming either economic or political. This is called dealing with fundamental issues, though, as a matter of fact, it does not get you anywhere in the immediate task which falls upon the schools, that of teaching the mass of the children here and now. It may be argued, for instance, that nothing can be

settled unless and until the capitalist system is broken up, that until that day there can never be a democracy in the real sense of the term, one in which, to use the Benthamite formula, each counts for one, and no one for more than one. A whole lecture might be devoted to this interesting topic. It might be said, for instance, that such a society is inconceivable, and that even a communistic society must provide for those who direct, and those who are directed, or, as some would say, for those who shoot and those who are shot, and that the educations required by these two classes would be properly different. I do not deal with this problem: the issue before us is, if you like, narrower, but more practical. It is tempting again to turn aside to the discussion of the philosophy of the authoritarian State as compared with the democratic ideal. It is obvious that if you place the State in the seat of God, and hold the individual to be only of value in so far as he serves the State and the growth in power of the State, there are profound changes in education which must be made, and which have already been made in more countries than one. This again is a subject for a lecture, but not for this lecture. It is right, I think, for me to begin by stating my position dogmatically, which is that I believe in democracy, and accept that as a common starting-point. Democracy means that in voting-power, though in nothing else, each counts for one, and no one for more than one, that all agree to accept and to be bound by the vote of the majority, and that to alter conditions they will rely upon persuasion, and not force. Democracy believes in the value of human personality, and holds that the State is not an end in itself, but a means to enable the individual to live the good life. If further definition is needed, the equality of democracy is a real equality of opportunity, and the good life which it contemplates is a life in which those words of the American Constitution have substantial meaning, that everyone is born to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Fascist, nationalist, and communist will alike pour scorn on this political ideal, and describe it from various points of view as putrescent hypocrisy. Of course it is true that there is no perfect democracy to be found in the world, and that we require a general diffusion of a reasonably secure standard of life and a much better education of the mass before we can begin to approach the ideal. If a nation is to be controlled by a mass which is uneducated and undisciplined, it must pass into some form of tyranny, as Plato pointed out long ago. So now we are coming into contact with the subject of this lecture: what is the education which ought here and now to be given to the mass of the children of the English-speaking races, if they are to make a workable and a worthy democracy? For I do not propose to deal with the special needs of the intellectually gifted children, who for most purposes, can be trusted to look after themselves.

If I seem in what I put before you to be placing the standard at too low a level, I beg you to remember that I am thinking all the time of the mass of the children, who are not possessed of any special intellectual ability. I want to put before you what I hold to be really possible, and I warn you against educational enthusiasts who readily draft a fancy curriculum, and use it to criticise the existing education. How much better it would be, they say, if the children knew the outline of world history, elementary civics, and economics, and the rudiments of general science! Yes, how much better it would be if nature had only turned them out with that capacity. But then nature has been so stupid as not to do so any more than she has manufactured any race in which each counts for one and no one for more than one. It is so easy to talk up in the air: I can only say that I will honestly try to keep my feet on the ground, and not put before you anything which cannot really be carried out.

There is at any rate all over the world a great dissatisfaction with things as they are, among teachers themselves, among business men, in the universities, and among parents, who are

our old familiar friends, the men and women in the street. One of the healthy signs of this discontent is this New Education Fellowship, for which I am speaking, which I take to be a company of those who are conscious of a new outlook, and desire a new spirit to enter into the world of education. A hasty critic of the old school may say that the New Education Fellowship is probably a company of cranks, and would go by on the other side without stopping. But this is not a fellowship of cranks, but in the main a company of teachers who are thinking about what they are doing, and their work is to make the rest of the world, all the company of the indifferent, all the company of the traditionalists, stop and look and take notice of the places where the old education is not fitting the modern world. That great work is worth attempting, even if we do not succeed in all our hopes.

There is indeed a considerable stir and movement in the educational air, a good deal of discussion and intelligent anticipation about the raising of the school age, and about the reintroduction of continuation schools, and plans for dividing time between schools and industry. All this may be, and is, important, and may doubtless be fairly described as coming changes. But it is, as I see it, largely a matter of administrative change and machinery and this again is not the subject about which I am going to talk tonight. Merely spending more time in school is not going to make very much difference beyond increasing the sum of adolescent boredom if you do not really know what you are after, what you are really seeking to do, and with all due deference I submit that this is to a considerable extent happening in our secondary school education today.

Will you bear with me a moment while I review the past rapidly in attempting to show why this is so? School education must have originally aimed at producing in due course learned clerks, and under the influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation it developed in England into the well-worn and well-understood curriculum of Latin and Greek. It produced certain valuable principles for the guidance of the average

pedagogue to which he adhered tenaciously, that wisdom with a goad is driven on behind, and that it doesn't matter what a boy learns so long as he doesn't like it. Latin and Greek were soundly flogged into the eighteenth century schoolboy, so that it was a nice question with Dr. Johnson whether he gained more at one end than he lost at the other. Right into the nineteenth century the grand old fortifying classical curriculum for all continued, because school was a preparation for the university, and was not thought of as anything else.

In the course of the nineteenth century, I will not say that the curriculum widened, but other subjects fought their way in—mathematics, history, a foreign language, science. They came in as subjects, and they fought and jostled with one another as subjects, the general conception remaining the same, that the school was the preparation for the university. Its outlook remained entirely academic, and those who had little academic capacity were dunces and boobies. Hence the large proportion of successful business men today who in distributing prizes announce that they never got one in their life.

Then came the great widening of the area which followed the Act of 1902, and the covering of Great Britain with a network of secondary schools. They took over the conception of the curriculum as they found it, the purely academic conception, and the Board of Education or some controlling authority soon took a hand to bring order into the confusion of competing subjects and unrelated and irrelevant examinations. They brought in drawing and handicraft and physical exercises, but tentatively and in a very subordinate position: these were the non-academic subjects that did not count. The system was then stereotyped and clamped down in England by the organisation of the school certificate examination, and by the intimate connection with matriculation which was soon established. All through I submit that the course of education was thought of as

primarily a collection of subjects which were capable of being examined: they were bound together in a sort of unity, groups I, II, III, and IV, in which group IV was the poor relation who need not be invited to the final banquet of the school certificate because the universities did not want him. They were never really thought of as parts of a whole. Then came the central schools, which might have been free but have instead tended to play the sedulous ape to the conventional secondary school. So here we are today with a stereotyped system, with immense vested interests already tending to be hallowed by tradition—and there is profound dissatisfaction abroad.

In such circumstances it may help us to go back to first principles, and to think the question out from that starting-point as logically as we can. What is the purpose of school education? Is it to prepare pupils for admission to the universities, or to the professions, or to industry, or to commerce? Is it to be thought of as vocational or cultural? I submit that this is a dangerous antithesis, of which we should fight shy. For I would answer that education is both cultural and vocational, since it is, rightly conceived, a preparation for nothing narrower than citizenship and life. It is by these standards and these standards only that we ought to try it, for it is certain that every one of the children in the schools has got to live, and ought to be an active and intelligent citizen.

Let me put to you a rough classification that I have used before, but which I think is useful for the purpose of focussing our problem. For it is obvious that tonight I cannot hope to cover the whole ground of elementary, secondary, and university and professional education. Let us say broadly—for the computation is accurate enough for our purposes, and easy to remember—that there are 5,000,000 children now in the elementary schools, whose education will stop at 14, that there are 500,000 who have embarked on some kind of secondary school course, whose education is likely to stop by 17,

and that there are some 50,000 whose education in the universities or professional institutions is being continued to the furthest development. I like to make a picture of the nation as an army, which is being organised and equipped for the campaign of life—I hope that members of the League of Nations Union will forgive the military character of the metaphor—and I regard the 5,000,000 as the rank and file, the 500,000 as the non-commissioned officers of that army of the future, and the 50,000 as its officers and leaders. We have the authority of Rudyard Kipling for saying that the N.C.O.'s are absolutely essential for the efficiency of any army, and that unless they know their job the rank and file cannot do their work well, and the leaders find their troops irresponsible and unsteady. These 500,000, then, are of vital importance: they are those with whom the secondary schools are concerned, and after the secondary school stages nobody else, so far as formal education goes. They are those who will go out into life, and occupy subordinate, but for all that, pivotal positions: they must needs be fit and efficient and ready, for they sustain the whole future of our industrial and social system. It is of these 500,000 and of the work of secondary education that I want to talk.

I do not want to be misunderstood. I am not criticising elementary education, or regarding it as insignificant: elementary education also is concerned with citizenship and life. So far as I have studied it, and I have looked at it from time to time, both in England and particularly in the Dominions, I do not criticise but praise. When the handicap of classes that are still frequently too large, and of buildings that are still in certain places poor and unsuitable, and of playgrounds that are inadequate, is considered, I think that the work of elementary education is successfully done, and that every English-speaking nation owes a great deal of gratitude, seldom recognised as it should be, to the great army of men and women who have given their lives to the work. Nor am I thinking of the 50,000 as unimportant. Leadership

is obviously needed, the best leaders that we can get. But real brains come to the top, and even education, as a caustic friend said to me, cannot spoil them. I therefore leave them on one side and confine my attention tonight to the 500,000, on the efficiency of whom, I repeat, all in the future depends.

So I come back from this digression to my first principle, that education is a preparation for life and for citizenship. A primary requisite for life, many would say *the* primary requisite, is health and physical fitness. The Greeks knew this with their bold division of education into Gymnastic and Music: the Romans learned it from them, and coined the tag *mens sana in corpore sano* which we have repeated often enough but to which we are only just beginning to pay any real attention. We have indeed neglected physical health, thinking that we can leave it entirely to nature, and have held up other ideals like that of Browning's Grammarian who 'gave us the doctrine of the enclitic *De*, dead from the waist down'—as if there were any merit in being in that condition. It may have been safer to neglect the laws of physical well-being and healthy development, when the greater part of the nation was employed on the land in the fresh air, the conditions which made for human efficiency. But the case is completely different now. We live for the most part in towns in conditions which deprive us in a considerable and definite measure of fresh air and of sunlight. Machines cultivate our fields for us, and machines carry us to and fro. A considerable part of the population does not understand the importance of diet, and there are very large numbers who are physically deficient because of the housing conditions, hours of labour, and poor wages that prevailed in the unrestricted heyday of the industrial revolution. Nor does our national love of games save us. For those who play would in some cases be better if they did not attempt violent exercise, but in any case the fate of the vast majority is to watch and to smoke fags before going on to the pictures. These are conditions

which, if not faced and dealt with, will make steadily for physical inefficiency.

I am not forgetting the school medical services and the fine work that they have done. But what I feel about this work is that it has been devoted to the prevention of disease and not to the production of health. No doubt it has been so of necessity, but it is a dangerous state of mind if you think merely of bringing down the percentages of rickets or T.B.: what we want to do is to raise the percentage of those who are Class A, and are fit all round to use and to enjoy life. I want the schools to give a great deal more thought to the production of real health, and to seek to raise up a generation of boys and girls who will be ashamed of being ill, if it means that their illness is due to neglect of the laws of health, and who will take a real pride in bodily fitness.

I like to use the term *physical education* for this training, because it can be a real form of education, making the brain more alert, and the character more harmonious and more stable. It means the co-operation in every school of a qualified doctor and a physical educator, a man or woman who can remedy defects, and plan and carry out progressive exercises. I want to see a definite curriculum put before the pupils so that they can set themselves to pass the tests proper to their age in running, jumping, lifting, apparatus exercises, swimming, in breathing and in carriage. I would like them to go steadily up the stages of a school course in this respect, just as they pass from stage to stage of mathematics or languages.

It means the production in much larger numbers of qualified instructors, men and women of education, who will be recognised and important members of the school staffs. I think of such as taking a university degree and adding a two-year course, or at any rate a course of one year, to render them fit to do this important work, and to co-operate on equal terms with the doctor and with their colleagues. I should like to see institutions such as the Carnegie College of Physical Training at Leeds duplicated at Oxford, Cambridge, London

and elsewhere. It is a good sign that the Carnegie College is full. The present system—dental inspection, and two periods a week of physical jerks or Swedish drill by classes of all ages and sizes and degrees of physical efficiency—is, frankly, not satisfactory. Nor does the addition of haphazard open-air games give much help either. I ask for a revolution, the development of a real gymnastic, the guiding of the will of the nation to a resolve to be fit, and though I could say much more about the subject, I leave it at that, confident that if this education is rightly and universally carried out it will mean the development of better brains, better characters and better citizens.

Another quality which is clearly required for life is the ability to use your own language, and I am not sure that as things are at present this ability is developed to the fullest extent, or that it is the primary object of those who are engaged in the teaching of the subject. English in their minds cannot but become a subject which is capable of being examined, and the examinable aspects of the subject become exclusively the object of interest. Do not think that I am blind to the really outstanding improvement in the teaching of English which has taken place during this century, or to the valuable work that has been done by the English Association. Much devoted work has been done in many a school, but it remains true that the testing standard has been examination, and not life. There are, moreover, peculiar dangers in the teaching of English literature for examination to school children. You may by drafting a careful syllabus be ambitious enough to give a general view of English literature, but you will hardly be able to avoid the danger of filling them up with second-hand stuff, and turning the whole thing into a memory test. You run the risk in the case of a good many pupils of giving them a deeply-rooted distaste for first-rate literature, because you are plunging immature minds into the thoughts and emotions of mature genius. I can bear witness of my own experience, looking back on schooldays in which English was not so badly

taught, that the lessons from which I got most were the lessons that had no examination in front of them, and that essay work became a different thing when it was entirely free, when you set out to describe, expound, and persuade without thought of how to earn marks.

But literature even in these days is not always well taught, and I am afraid that to a considerable extent it means cramming up two or three text-books (mainly a feat of memory), writing an essay, and doing a piece of précis. My complaint is that at the end of this you do not know whether or not the candidate can stand up and speak clearly, whether or not he can read with intelligence, or whether or not he can reproduce with intelligence a narrative or a message which has been imparted to him. It is not possible, or perhaps I should rather say that it is extremely difficult, to test these accomplishments by examination, and therefore they tend to be left out. Yet I believe that the oral use of English, reading, recitation, impromptu speaking, reporting by word of mouth, ought to be the main effort at this stage and should be a qualification demanded from all. I would like to see the teachers of English given free leave to use literature as they like for assistance in carrying out this primary requirement, and I should have no objection to making English language and literature a separate and special subject, to be taken by those who like it. All I am concerned with is that the pupils should first and foremost learn the use of English, remembering that it is what you speak with your tongue, and not merely what you write with your pen. Sixty-seven thousand took the subject last summer, and more than half of them passed with credit. Yet I wonder how many even of these select ones could really speak a few words with clearness and understanding.

Still keeping to the demands which life will make on us, and deferring for the present the requirements of preparation for citizenship, I observe that it is right and valuable that we should be able to reason logically and to calculate correctly.

Therefore mathematics must certainly be a part of our syllabus for all. But the question arises, how much mathematics? I know that I will get into trouble for what I am saying, especially from my mathematical friends, but I cannot but feel that mathematics is emphatically a subject in which what was originally a means has become an end in itself, and that we do, as a matter of fact, exact too high a standard from the average boy and girl. Mathematics arrived early in the school curriculum, and it has been on the whole well taught: it has developed a fine technique. But it is the curse of education that if you think of it in terms of separate subjects and not as a related whole, you tend to force up the standard of the subjects too high, and we all know the result in the average school, that none of the specialist masters thinks that he has enough time for the proper teaching of his subject. He is ambitious; he knows his job; and he wants his classes really to know a lot. All this is most praiseworthy, but the result is that nobody has enough time, and the unfortunate average pupil is over-burdened. I am heretical enough to think that arithmetic and simple geometry are enough, and I have been so stupid that no one has ever been able to explain to me clearly why algebra should be a necessary part of the mental furniture of everybody. I have not found quadratics or the binomial theorem useful for life, and I hold, under correction, the belief that all that is valuable as mental training in the study of mathematics can be obtained without requiring so advanced a study from everybody.

Equally I hold that a certain knowledge of science is necessary, but here again I hold that we have gone wrong because science has been regarded as a subject all by itself, and not as part of the whole. It seems to have been assumed that since everybody ought to do science, as the phrase is, they ought to do it as a preparation for an advanced special study of physics, or of chemistry. It has not been observed, or if it has been, no notice has been taken of the fact, that only a very small proportion go on to more advanced study, and the vast

majority are left with their more or less incomplete foundation. I submit that for the purposes of life it is better to have a humble but still a complete shed rather than the foundation stone of a more pretentious and valuable building which as a matter of fact is never built. So, at the risk of being heretical again, I put it to you that for the purposes of life everybody ought to have some conception of what is meant by scientific method, and what is meant by scientific law, and that you cannot fairly expect more of a school scientific training for everybody than this. A little physics, a little chemistry, a little biology, under the title of general elementary science, will be admittedly a smattering, but it will be a course from which everybody will derive something of value and of guidance in living his life. At any rate in saying this I am comforted by the knowledge that I have a great body of instructed scientific opinion behind me.

A different kind of English, less mathematics, a different kind of science, are, then, the demands which life makes, but I have not yet done with these demands. For life demands a more thorough training of the eye, the ear, and the hand than we give at present, and again what is needed is a change of attitude, a change of the spirit in which we regard them. Art, music, and handicraft came into the curriculum through pressure from outside, and got that footing mainly because the Board of Education was more enlightened than the old secondary schoolmasters. But they received a grudging welcome and a grudging welcome is all that they have today. They are subjects which receive a bare pittance of time, and they are frequently dropped altogether when that which so many schools regard as the real test, and that which the outside world regards as the real test, comes near, namely, the examination. Yet I think it is true to say that these are the means by which very many of those in our secondary schools, very many of the 500,000 of whom I am thinking, get their first hold on reality, their first foundation for understanding the world, their

first sense of achievement, and therefore their grasp on life.

May I quote here what I meant to have said to the National Union of Teachers at Brighton last year, words which Sir George Newman has done me the honour to quote in his Annual Report on *The Health of the School Child*: 'I want a thorough training of the eye, the ear, and the hand. Here I think we are already much more advanced than we are in physical education, and it is true to say that the sons of the rich come off much worse than the sons of those who are much less well-to-do. As to the training of the hand, I think we have excellent practitioners and well understood courses appropriate to the age of the pupil. I only want them extended to all schools, and regarded as an essential part of education. As to the training of the eye and the ear, I know that a good deal is done, but I think much more can be done. I want to see pupils turned out who can tell a good picture from a bad one, a good piece of music from a bad one, and here on the side of music I believe that considerable advance can be made, especially when we remember the wonderful aids which science has given us in the wireless and the gramophone. At present music in particular has not come into its own, and we are suffering from the prejudice of our ancestors who believed that nobody could really be a musician unless he had a foreign name, and that music itself was effeminate and unworthy of a true Briton. Yet fundamentally we were a musical race, and we might readily be so again if we took the trouble.'

'I want all this because it is of quite enormous importance at the present time when we are surrounded by ugliness, and trans-Atlantic vulgarities are corrupting the cinema and the music and the dance halls and the newspapers to which the public as a whole has access. It is only by concerted co-operation in the schools that we can hope to contend with success against the flood of commercialised vulgarity which pours over the country, that we can regain the sense of the value of real

craftsmanship as the expression of personality, that we can create a standard of public good taste. I hope that I have said enough to make good my position that this training of the body to fitness, and the training of the bodily senses to willing appreciation, and the training of the bodily aptitudes to worthy creation and craftsmanship are a part of education which is in every way as important as, and I think more important than, the gaining of academic knowledge.' (I would remind you that I was thinking of the average, who have no outstanding academic gifts). 'For all this training is a direct preparation for life wherever and in whatever circumstances that life is lived.'

Education is also a preparation for citizenship, and there are certain parts of our accepted curriculum in which I hold that this consideration ought to make a real difference. First of all, there is history. Am I wrong in saying that history is regarded as a subject, and that a common question is, 'What period are you taking for history?' as if it consisted of a number of samples, and it were quite irrelevant which particular one you take down off the shelf? For they are all history, and any dose of history, wherever you take it from, is supposed to be good for you, as if it were cod-liver oil. Consequently we get very commonly what to me is the manifestly absurd result, that boys and girls spend their main effort on the Anglo-Saxons, Plantagenets, the Hundred Years War, and the Wars of the Roses, and leave school with their minds wholly blank about all that has followed since America broke away from us, down to the present day. I claim that the call of citizenship demands that we should have done with this chaos and that there should be a scheme for all by which they spend their earliest years on the story of the remoter past, but that the last two years of the course should be spent on as careful a study as may be feasible of the making of the modern world, the world in which they have to live. It should, I think, start with the War of American Independence, and deal with the French Revolution and Napoleon, the Industrial

Revolution, the making of Modern Europe, the coming of the Great War, and the outline of what has happened since. I claim that this should be so because it is common sense, because no man or woman can read the paper or vote intelligently without knowledge of these things, and understanding of how they have come to be.

According to the last figures, 67,000 pupils took the school certificate, and 11,000 took geography. This does not seem to me good enough, for I argue that every single candidate ought to take geography, and mean by that that it is an integral and essential part of the education for modern citizenship. To know the great producing areas of the world, the great trade-routes, the basic facts of climatic and physical configuration, the where and the how and the why of the modern world, is surely something with which the citizen, if he is to be intelligent, cannot dispense. Only geography must not be thought of as a subject, all by itself, to be made complex by the introduction of all sorts of technical minutiae which concern only the specialist: it must not be spoiled as it is in danger of being spoiled. It must be taught to all in the broadest and simplest spirit as a basis for citizenship.

One more element I hold that citizenship demands, and that is some knowledge of a foreign language. I do not myself lay great stress on all being able to speak it, nor do I argue for or against the purely oral method. I think it important for all to be able to read a foreign language, in order that they may understand, in however rudimentary a way, that there are other civilisations than ours, other races, and other points of view. It is the best basis for international sympathy and understanding. But I do not claim that the average, i.e. the 500,000 of whom I am thinking all along, should attempt more than one language other than their own, for the simple reason that I do not think that the education which I have sketched leaves time for more than one. Nor have I seen any evidence from my long study of the school

certificate that the average candidate has capacity for more than one.¹

And now let me say, before I draw to an end, that I have not been thinking of the clever pupils, and that I am not trying to lower standards, or to remove Latin or higher mathematics or advanced science from the school curriculum. I believe that it would be right for the broad general education which I have sketched to be started on by all, but the gifted children will soon select themselves. In most secondary schools there would be no difficulty in picking them out by the age of 13, and appropriate courses could be devised for those who are capable of going far. There would be special ladders for the able. I admit that this would be more difficult in a small school than in the large ones, but there is such a thing as transference, and we must not pay too much heed to the natural selfishness of schools. In any case I want to see an end made to our present system, by which the interests of ninety per cent of our pupils are, I am convinced, sacrificed to the supposed interests of the other ten per cent—I say, ‘supposed interests,’ for even our cleverest and ablest children would gain if their early education were more general, and less academic and less specialised than it is today.

I have not talked about new methods, not that I discount their importance. They are all of them to be carefully weighed and observed, and doubtless you, as a New Education Fellowship, will make it your business to do this. But I will tell you my own experience for what it is worth: that personality counts in the balance more than method, that the essential thing is to make your pupil want to work, and that he will catch the desire from your own personal conviction, your own personal example. It is good to study the Montessori method, and Froebel and Pestalozzi and the Dalton method, and the oral method, and the heuristic method, but the whole

¹ In the course of an interview Dr. Norwood stated that foreign languages should be entirely omitted from the curriculum of those children who were not continuing their education beyond the age of 15.

gospel of teaching, the whole law and commandments of education, are summed up in this: 'Be what you want your pupils to be, know what you want them to know, and throw enthusiasm into it.'

If our average secondary education could be reshaped in this spirit, then I honestly believe that our next generation would be better men and women, and better citizens, than we are.

DR. PAUL L. DENGLER (Austria): *Community Classes: An Experiment in Secondary Education*

In primary education the movement for reform has won substantial victories in most European countries, but this is not true of secondary education. Here the struggle goes on and theory is opposed to theory. Yet secondary education is one of the fields in which reform is most important and urgent. This reform must involve more than improvements in the details of curricula and methods; what is needed is rather a thorough-going transformation from within, which will bring the spirit of the new education into every classroom. The problem is the more difficult in Europe because of the economic crisis, which directly affects the schools—even the most urgent demands, such as those for air and light and freedom of movement, can often not be met owing to lack of funds.

Reflections and discussions which are merely theoretical do not get us anywhere if the practical example does not accompany them. So instead of writing a book for a small group of experts, I carried out some time ago a four-year practical experiment in one of the typical secondary schools of Vienna, a Latin Grammar School. I selected for this

purpose a group of new ten-year-old pupils such as might be found in any ordinary school. My main idea was this. Those most obviously concerned with what happens in any class are the pupils, their parents and the teachers. Thus we have three groups to consider—the ‘pupils’ community,’ the ‘parents’ community’ and the ‘teachers’ community’—while these together form what I call the ‘class community.’ The class community with other similarly organised classes in the same school forms the ‘school community.’ If my scheme were generally introduced the Austrian *Gymnasium* with its eight classes would consist of eight three-fold class communities. Delegates from each would unite to form the natural controlling body of that school. Likewise delegates from each school could form an association to act in an advisory capacity to the educational authorities of the country. Let me now describe the main features of my experiment.

The *Pupils’ Community*. The pupils divided themselves into a number of groups and each group chose a leader, while a class leader was elected by the whole class. The task of the group leader was to help the members, so far as he could, with the difficulties they encountered in their school work and to awaken social feeling among them. As the groups were re-arranged after several months new leaders were chosen and given the opportunity of exercising their intellectual and social powers in this way. Thus the development of individuality in the leader is combined with the apparently contradictory subordination of personal desires to the needs of the group. A great deal of responsibility was thrown on to the shoulders of the children themselves: there was not a single pupil without some definite job to do, while the class as a whole decided about rewards and the very rare punishments, and even participated in the determination of grades. (At the end of each semester every child got up and said whether he should be placed in grade 1, 2, 3 or 4; the leader of the group then gave his idea and a general discussion followed. I graded the children, too, but did not

tell them what I thought until the discussion was finished. On one typical occasion the grading given by the class differed from mine in only three cases—and when we discussed them I found that the children had better memories than I.) Of course the teachers, and especially the form teacher, had the right to veto a decision of the pupils' community, but this right was very seldom exercised.

It was soon found that the passive, receptive attitude characteristic of pupils in the traditional secondary school disappeared and that enthusiasm and vivid activity took its place. As far as the classroom itself was concerned, I should mention that great pains were taken to get rid of everything suggestive of the regimentation and pedantry of the old school and to create a pleasant home-like atmosphere. The room was made attractive with flowers and pictures, and in place of rows of fixed desks individual tables and chairs were used—generally arranged in a circle around the teacher's table, as it is important that children should see one another's eyes, especially during discussions.

The *Parents' Community*. This part of the class community consisted of the parents of the boys in the class. All the parents belonged to it, and they adopted a constitution in accordance with which members pledged themselves to attend the general meetings held during the year. At all meetings at which parents were present I insisted that they should do most of the talking and that the teachers should as much as possible keep in the background. As a result, the receptive and passive attitude generally adopted by parents at meetings of parent-teacher associations of the ordinary type soon disappeared.

The parents were encouraged to visit the class during school hours and see it at work, and to fill in observation blanks on their children. Courses in such subjects as shorthand, typewriting and first-aid were arranged in which both the parents and boys sat together as pupils. The parents' community also maintained a small library and often divided

itself into working groups of five to ten people which took up educational problems, made reports on books, etc. It also took care of needy children in the class, and frequently arranged trips, hikes and social gatherings with the pupils. It can thus be seen that the parents' community worked in the closest association with the pupils' community.

The *Teachers' Community* comprised the subject teachers of the class, one of whom became the *primus inter pares*. The task of the teachers' community was to build up a harmonious system of instruction in which the subjects would, as far as it is possible on the secondary level, be mutually related. This involved a considerable re-adjustment on the part of the teachers: hitherto each had thought that *his* subject was the only important one in the curriculum and had not cared who had been in the class before him and who would come after him. By working together in a group the teachers were able not only to correlate subject-matter but also to make a comprehensive study of each individual pupil. Observations concerning the pupils were exchanged and joint records were made. These, together with the information supplied by the parents and pupils themselves, offered interesting material for psychological research and data for educational and vocational guidance.

Every year, as teacher-leader, I went on with my original group to the next form of the *Gymnasium* and kept a watchful eye on those in the form below. Finally, in the fourth year, there were four such class communities which worked together under my direction, and at the end of that year I concluded my experiment. The plan attracted great interest in Austria, and detailed reports had to be made every few weeks to the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Board of Education. Soon educators in other countries became interested, and in the course of time I received hundreds of visitors particularly from the English-speaking countries, and similar experiments were begun abroad.

The class-community plan seems to offer a hopeful method for the reform of secondary education. One of its greatest advantages is that it bridges the gap between home and school more effectively than any other scheme. And there is a very important place for the family in the education of the future. Pupils, teachers and parents in my class communities become close and devoted friends. There was no lying or cheating in the classes and punishments were a rarity. The scholastic progress of the pupils surpassed my rosiest expectations—they made the best showing of all the forms in the school. I am today more than ever convinced that my approach was the right one, and I hope that some time I shall be able to return to teaching, which, in spite of the satisfaction I derive from my present work, I still like better than anything else.

REKTOR LAURIN ZILLIACUS (Finland): *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools*

If we go into the schools of one of the countries under a dictatorship, Germany for example, we find the old idea of catering for the individual, of giving scope for the flowering of personality, entirely swept away. Everything connected with the school, its organisation, its syllabus and every detail of method, is deliberately planned with the object of producing the type of citizen that the regime considers it requires. In the schools of our more or less democratic countries we find a very different picture. Usually there is the same old curriculum which is not aimed specially at producing citizens but principally, so far as it aims at anything, at examinations. Here we have the opposite extreme.

We are not giving sufficient attention to education for democratic citizenship—an education which will produce not only able and informed citizens, but citizens who understand the meaning of democracy and are filled with the desire to serve it. As I see it, the problem has three aspects; there is the intellectual side, the practical side, and the emotional side. On the intellectual side, we must teach children to understand present-day society and to reflect on its nature so that they will be aware of its bad points as well as of its fundamental and permanent values. On the practical side, we must fit them, by practical experience, to take their share in the joint enterprises of social life. On the emotional side, we must remember that knowledge and skill are of little use unless there is feeling behind them, for, unless they are tinged with emotion, we get nothing but passive criticism. Here we encounter controversial issues. How far should we try to make the rising generation favourably disposed towards certain values in life and hostile towards others? We must, I think, admit that we do wish to influence the attitude of the rising generation to a certain extent, but I think we should make it plain to ourselves and to others just how far we are prepared to go.

On the intellectual side, the question resolves itself largely into what we should put into the curriculum and how it should be studied. So far as methods of study are concerned, there will, I think, be general agreement. They should be such as to lead to the ability to think independently; to extract the essentials from different sources of knowledge; to summarise material, to fit it together, to see the relation between the different aspects of a problem; and to state one's point of view and to listen to the other fellow without necessarily being persuaded by what he says.

But when we come to the question of what to study the solution is much more difficult, and, I believe, calls for a very radical change in the curriculum. The Americans are tackling the problem in their experimental schools, and although their

practices still vary widely, every year sees a growing measure of agreement. Personally I believe that in another twenty or thirty years, given anything like stable conditions in society during that period, the Americans will have worked out a new curriculum that the world will copy. This new curriculum will, I think, include much that is familiar to us today, but it will all be organised with a different purpose in view, namely that of giving children an understanding of present-day society, its problems and the forces struggling within it, and helping them to work harmoniously towards the goal of a better society. It will be more flexible than the curriculum of the traditional school, but will, I think, contain a common core of central topics about which everyone needs some knowledge, e.g., the industrial revolution, areas of monopolies, international co-operation, the development of dramatic art, the story of architecture. The method of approach to these various topics and their detailed elaboration will be left to the discretion of the individual school. The children will first view the particular topic from different angles, and find out about sources of information, then collect their data, discuss it and work it over, summarise it, pick out the essentials and finally prepare a report illustrated with diagrams, maps, pictures, etc. This is the kind of education towards which schools should move to meet the intellectual demands of education for citizenship. Schools which are not free to embark on such radical reforms can nevertheless work gradually in the same direction.

I come now to the practical side. Studying society and learning what a citizen should know and do is necessary, but it is quite inadequate unless we also give practice in citizenship. The English Public Schools, with their well-known prefect system, have a long tradition of practical education for a particular kind of citizenship. But the training has been criticised on the ground that it is too narrow, and that it tends to produce an undemocratic and limited view of society. The prefects are trained to be leaders with

unquestioned authority but, generally speaking, they are not trained for leadership in a democratic community. What is wanted is opportunity for all children, the youngest as well as the oldest, to have a real part in the running of a school society which itself reflects the best democratic practices in the world outside. In all schools there are a large number of practical matters that someone must look after if the school is to be an efficient community, and many of these can be managed by the children themselves. If they have to report back to the people who elect them, they learn both what it means to hold a position of authority and what it means to hold such a position at the pleasure of the people over whom their authority is exercised. Of course it is never easy to choose the right person for the right position and mistakes are sure to be made. But I have seen children simply flower under the system, children for example, who had been previously unnoticed but who, on being given an organising job—something which requires daily attention to duty—have shown gifts which rapidly gave them a real standing among their fellows. On the other hand, I have seen children whose exaggerated opinion of themselves has been deflated in the most salutary way through being given a job, say in the stationery shop, and who have been transformed into good and respected citizens of the school.

There is, however, the danger of giving too much responsibility to certain children. Too much is apt to be put on to the shoulders of the conscientious and capable children, especially if they are appointed by the teachers themselves. Teachers have so much to do that they naturally turn with relief to those most capable of helping them. Self-government should be introduced slowly; it usually takes years to get the system running smoothly. Those who have some position of authority should, generally speaking, be limited to one particular job. Under the traditional system prefects are responsible for a large ill-defined area of activity, and this, because of the burden thrust upon them, tends to engender

in them something of the attitude of the ruler of inferior beings. I think it is better to limit the functions of school officers and to have one to look after one thing and one to look after another. As far as general behaviour is concerned, I think this can safely be left to the older children to look after. In my school the older children have meetings at which they deal with such matters and I find that there is no necessity for interference on the part of the teachers. If any question is not settled by the committee it is brought before the assembly of the whole school which meets once a fortnight.

All of this gives practical training for citizenship. Children gain experience in choosing the right man for the right job, in holding office themselves, and in working with others on common tasks. Furthermore they are brought into contact with the world outside the school; the school bank has dealings with the real bank in the city, the stationery shop with various places from which it buys its materials, and the library with big shops and the municipal library.

Finally there is the emotional side of the problem. Knowledge and skill are of little use without the driving force of feeling behind them. Personally I think we should hold out the ideals of truth, free thought and free expression of opinion. I think, too, we should stress the need for every single human being to work for better, more just, and healthier conditions for all those whose present condition is not what it ought to be. In other words we must awaken in our future citizens a sense of responsibility.

MR. E. SALTER DAVIES, C.B.E., M.A. (England): *The Education of the Adolescent in England*

The education of the adolescent is one problem from 11 to 18—the day-school period followed by the after-school period. Attention has been called long ago to the danger of boys and girls degenerating if caught by a highly organised industrial

system, which makes little demand on individual inventiveness and affords little scope for the exercise of intelligence. It is important alike for the well-being of industry and for the spiritual health of the community, that the education of boys and girls should suffer no break when they cease full-time attendance at schools, but should be continued and developed during the years following their entrance into industry and commerce.

This cannot be done without the co-operation of educationists and employers. Business men must be persuaded to take an intelligent and sympathetic interest in the whole problem of adolescent education, full-time and part-time alike. In particular, the Juvenile Employment Bureaus and After-care Committees are essential parts of the machinery for securing closer co-operation between education and industry, and cannot adequately fulfil their function without the active support of employers as well as of teachers.

Educationists must be prepared to take a similar interest in the problems of industry. They must allow the needs of industry to have a direct, if limited, influence upon the outlook, and even upon the curriculum of the school. It is not true to say that education prepares for life and not for livelihood. It has to fulfil the double function.

Vocational training need not be, and should not be a *cul-de-sac*. For some at least it is the only way to a liberal education. For many the strongest educational influence would be exercised by the part-time day continuation school, and nothing would, in my judgment, prove more effective in establishing the right relations between education and industry and in helping us to discover the right curriculum and methods for the modern reorganised senior elementary school, as the putting into force of the suspended provisions of the Education Act of 1921, which provided that children who did not continue their full-time education until the age of sixteen, should be under compulsion to attend part-time day continuation schools until the age of eighteen.

The history of English education during the last hundred years is the history of the gradual extension of educational facilities from the few to the many. In 1870 elementary education in England became free and fees in elementary schools were abolished. In 1876 attendance was made compulsory, and, under the Act of that year, children were compelled to stay at school until the mature age of ten. In 1893 that age was raised to eleven, and in 1900, fourteen. Many exemptions, however, from school attendance were allowed and before the passing of the Education Act of 1918, children who had reached a certain standard of attainment were held to have completed their education, and were allowed to leave school at the age of twelve. All children in England are now compelled to stay at school until the end of the term in which they have completed their fourteenth year. Under the Education Act of 1937 the school leaving age has been raised to fifteen, with the proviso that children under the age of fourteen who have obtained beneficial employment may be exempted from attendance. The interpretation of the phrase 'beneficial employment' will give local educational authorities the greatest difficulty.

In the wave of educational enthusiasm which spread over England in the last few years of the War, there was a great development of secondary schools. In my own area in the county of Kent, which has about one and a quarter million inhabitants, the number of boys attending public secondary schools has been multiplied since 1904 by seven and the number of girls by ten. It must be remembered, however, that in England the percentage of children who proceed from the elementary to the secondary school is under 20, whereas in New Zealand it is over 50. Moreover, in secondary schools fees are still charged, though there is a generous allowance of scholarships which exempt wholly or in part from school fees children of parents of limited means. The Education Act of 1918 provided that no child shall be debarred from receiving

that form of education from which he or she is capable of benefiting through inability to pay fees.

There has also been a considerable development of junior technical schools, in which there is special preparation for a particular branch of industry, engineering, commerce, etc. The curriculum is not vocational in the narrow sense of that term, but very great attention is paid in schools, for example, which are preparing boys for the engineering industries, to science, mathematics and workshop practice. In all such schools attention is paid to English language and literature, and in some a modern language is taken. The age of admission to such schools varies, the commonest age being thirteen. Some argue that the age of admission should be reduced to eleven, since that is the age at which children are transferred to modern elementary schools and to secondary schools.

In 1926 the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education issued its report on *The Education of the Adolescent*, which is commonly known as the Hadow Report, from the name of its chairman. This Report recommended that the whole elementary school system should be reorganised into schools for children under eleven and schools for children over eleven. In England a great many schools were built fifty, sixty or seventy years ago, when children did not remain at school beyond the age of ten. A school of 120 children, for example, may have only two rooms to deal with three classes of children, aged from five to fourteen. In such schools organisation is difficult and proper provision for physical education and for handwork is practically impossible.

The modern schools in my own area are non-selective, and as a rule, provide for boys only, or for girls only. They stand in a site from ten to sixteen acres, two acres of which at least are devoted to horticulture and kindred pursuits. As much floor space is devoted to practical activities as to ordinary classroom work. There are change rooms, with shower baths, and a dining room, with a kitchen attached. The provision

of change rooms and kitchen is, in my judgment, essential to any sound scheme of reorganisation. Children are transported to modern schools for considerable distances, ten miles or more. It is essential that they should be able to change their foot gear and clothing in wet weather, and that they should receive a good midday meal. The midday meal in Kent costs 3½d., with a reduction for a family of several children. There is an assembly hall and in all schools built in future there will be a gymnasium and school library.

The proposal to reorganise the schools of Kent on Hadow lines was greeted in certain quarters with a great deal of opposition from parents, from managers and from a certain number of teachers. It was thought that the decapitation of schools would have a bad effect upon junior children, that the transportation of children would have a bad effect on their health, and that the removal of country children to town schools would have the effect of urbanizing their outlook. In each case, however, the opposition has died away when once the school has been established. It is true that a number of modern schools are placed in towns as the natural centre of the rural area. A number of schools, however, are situated in villages, and in all schools, whether in town or country, great attention is paid in the curriculum to informing the child of the importance of agriculture in the social and economic life of the country, and to giving him a real interest in the countryside. The work in the classroom or in the science room is closely associated with that done in the school garden and fruit plots.

There is no cut-and-dried curriculum, nor are the curricula of the schools in any way uniform. An attempt is being made to discover the curriculum which is best suited to the needs of the 80 per cent of children who do not proceed to secondary education. Great attention is paid to all out-of-school activities, and particularly to dramatic work, to literary work and to clubs of all kinds.

There is no school leaving examination, because it is felt that the imposition of such an examination would have the effect of stereotyping the curriculum, and employers are rapidly learning that the character of a school and the recommendation of the head teacher are of greater value than any examination certificate. Arrangements are made for the transfer of certain children from the modern school to the secondary school at or about the age of twelve.

The possibility of attaching 'higher tops' to certain elementary schools was carefully considered by the Kent Education Committee, but was rejected because they felt that such schools would be a poor alternative to the modern school.

It is very generally felt that the reorganisation of the English elementary school system on Hadow lines is the greatest and most successful revolution in English educational history.

MR. G. T. HANKIN, B.A. (England): *Education for a Commercial Career*

In the past recruitment for commerce has been haphazard. Business men have not thought seriously about the variety of classes of recruits that they required, and schoolmasters and schoolmistresses have talked cheerfully of a general education without considering the precise needs either of commerce or of the boys and girls entering upon that walk of life.

In recent years the situation has been cleared up by a variety of investigations and reports, notably, *Education for Salesmanship* (1931), *An Enquiry into Vocational Education after General Education, up to the Age of Sixteen* (1936), and *Post-Certificate Education for Commerce* (1935). All these reports were prepared by committees composed of

It is realised that good health and good speech help to make the personality attractive to a prospective employer.

It may, indeed, be said that in England the good employer and the good schoolmaster have reached an agreement. There are certain essentials in education, certain skills that are necessary for every member of a civilized community. Both schoolmaster and employer insist on these; but there is a common recognition also that the best employee, and, as a matter of fact, the best citizen, is the boy or girl who has enjoyed the broad general education which has widened his sympathy and understanding and made him ready to meet the changing needs of a changing world.

DR. I. L. KANDEL (U.S.A.): *Differentiation and Selection*

Attention has been directed to the question of differentiation and selection by the rapid increase in the number of pupils to be educated, the rise in the numbers that continue into the post-primary stage, and by the realisation that there are innumerable cases of educational misfits arising out of the traditional practice of treating all pupils alike. The gradual abolition of external examinations at the primary level and the reduction in the number of examinations at the secondary level is helping to reduce the emphasis on mass education and mass standards. Greater freedom in administration has made possible greater flexibility in the methods of classifying pupils. The same ends have been promoted by the volume of literature on the child, by the psychology of individual differences and the psychology of learning.

It is now generally admitted that uniform programmes of study and uniform methods of instruction defeat the ends of education, that both should be adapted to the needs and abilities of pupils as individuals and as growing personalities. The task today is to discover what a pupil can learn and to

help him to learn. In other words, the important question is how to devise methods to ensure that the right pupil receives the right education under the right teacher. Since all pupils will ultimately become citizens, it is essential to understand that differentiation in education does not mean the mere mechanical division of pupils into academic and non-academic, but seeing how each may obtain a good general education for as long as he can profit by it and by methods adapted to his abilities and aptitudes. The term 'selection' in education should be replaced by the term 'distribution of education.' If this is done, it will become clear that differentiation must be thought of not so much in terms of the content of education as of methods of instruction. Specialisation, which is what the old term 'selection' connoted, should not be begun until a foundation has been laid in a sound general education. This is the real meaning of the importance of educational guidance which is today beginning to be recognised as a necessary part of school administration.

REKTOR LAURIN ZILLIACUS (Finland): *Differentiation and Selection*

The question of differentiation and selection is a very difficult one because its solution depends on so many factors. Before we can differentiate we must first decide what kind of education we wish children to have, and, in particular, what is implied by 'secondary education for all.' The two questions are intimately connected.

'Secondary education for all' has become a catch-phrase, and I think that is natural. The demand results from two different movements in society. The one is the desire of parents to give their children the advantages of extended education; the other, which happily coincides with the first, is the feeling on the part of the representatives of society, or

of the State, that its citizens must be better educated than ever before.

Parents want their children to have a better chance of getting a job, and since in most cases the stamp of a complete education is the matriculation certificate, they insist that their children be prepared accordingly. In many countries the State itself is strongly encouraging this attitude, for the matriculation certificate is often the only means of entering into state employment; yet, at the same time, so many children are trying to get the certificate that state commissions of enquiry have been set up to see if the number cannot be reduced. So long, however, as matriculation carries its present prestige and means wider opportunities for employment, it will continue to be sought, and it will be difficult to educate parents to see the value of other post-primary courses. On the other hand, there is another motive at work. As the general level of education rises parents and children want more and more education because of the greater understanding of life and the glimpses of new values it gives them. There cannot be too much of the sort of education which meets this need, and the real problem is to build up an education system which will do so at every stage of development.

The other movement behind the demand for 'secondary education for all' arises out of the realisation that citizens are unable to deal with the problems that face them, and that society needs above all a body of well-informed, efficient citizens. This requires a reshaping of the curriculum along the lines suggested by Dr. Rugg in his lectures. What is needed is an opportunity for artistic creation in all subjects of study, and much more time for social science, including a study of the surrounding community and the whole world as it is today.

Now, a curriculum of this kind, while meeting certain fundamental demands, gives scope for a wide variety of interests and abilities. Hence where such a curriculum is in operation you will find differentiation in education even among

ten-year-olds. There is scope for the child with organising ability, and for the artistic type. The very tidy, careful kind of child gets practice in arranging and looking after things, the curious, enquiring child finds ample means of satisfying his interests, and the child of a more speculative turn of mind has opportunities for reflection and generalisation. In this way children are able to find expression for their special interests and to develop abilities which may be of use to them in after life. Personally I am very sceptical of the idea of fixing a certain level whether it be 11 plus, 12 plus, or even 13, at which, on the basis of some very decisive examination, children are divided into different groups to receive different kinds of education. At all events, when general education gives place to specialisation, full account should still be taken of individual interests and abilities.

At the higher levels of secondary education there will, of course, have to be subject specialists. They should not, however, be permitted to dominate the curriculum, especially at the lower levels, but should act as advisers and helpers where their special services are required.

The whole matter of differentiation and selection bristles with problems to which I have not attempted to give definite answers. To my mind the great danger lies in first settling these matters from the point of view of administration and organisation, and only then trying to take into account strictly educational considerations. Let us first decide what we want education to achieve, and then how the education system can be organised to realise these aims at every stage, including the adult level. Many of our curricular problems would be easily solved if we could count on continued education at the adult stage. As far as differentiation and selection is concerned it should be regarded not as a creaming process, but as a process of continuous educational guidance. The problem is to give the right education and the right advice to individual children and to do this we must develop and perfect the technique of cumulative record keeping.

CHAPTER IX

ADULT AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Adult Education for All*

THE twentieth century has witnessed a great expansion in the range of education. The ideal of the nineteenth century was to assure a good elementary education for all the children of all the people. That has now been realised in substantial measure in most countries, and we are pressing on to the new ideal of a secondary education for all. At the same time we are thinking both up and down from the years of school life—to the pre-school children on the one hand, and to adults on the other.

Something like universal adult education is necessary, partly to bring the old folks in line with their better-educated children, partly to make the world safe for democracy. The uneducated people, the people whose thinking has stopped at school leaving, are a danger in a time of increasing social complexity. Somehow or other everybody must be made able to take his or her share in meeting intelligently the difficulties of our times. Actually it is only a comparatively small section of the population that has come within the scope of adult education as commonly conceived and organised. Such people fall into two main groups, which may be designated the intellectual *élite* and the moral *élite*.

The intellectual *élite* are the men and women to be found in every social class, who want to go on learning something new. Under the auspices of such bodies as the Workers' Educational Association, they find their interest along three lines. Some take up the study of modern science and seek to get a knowledge of the natural world. Some go in for the study of literature, history, economics and politics, the sciences of the social world. Some are concerned specially with psychology and philosophy, and seek for insight into human nature and the nature of the mysterious universe in which man's lot is cast.

The moral *élite* are for the most part more ordinary people, often less intellectually gifted, but, for all that, numbering in their ranks many who are the salt of the earth. These are the people who want to learn to meet the needs of practical life. These again fall into three groups. Some of them are not content to go on doing routine work for the earning of bread and butter, but seek a better and deeper knowledge regarding the facts and principles that underlie their daily job. Some of them are parents and want to acquire the knowledge and skill needed to bring up their families well. Some of them are stirred by political convictions, and labour to make themselves more effective propagandists.

With the rise in the standard of the general education that comes through the school, especially with the extension of secondary education, there has been a progressive increase in the number of these serious students, and that increase is likely to continue. Even so, there is a large body of people not yet touched by any post-school education and possibly never likely to be touched by it. What about them? The good community cannot be satisfied to have this rather inert mass of non-learners limiting its development. If one keeps in mind that learning is not necessarily a matter of books or classes, the approach to this problem becomes easier. If we could have everybody doing new things and profiting by the experience, we could have learning still further extended.

As it happens, the solution of this problem was found during the years of the great depression when millions of men and women found time hanging on their hands, and had to get some kind of alternative occupation for the work they wanted to do but were denied opportunity for doing. Here and there sprang up community centres designed to meet this need. At first the main thought was the provision of recreation. But it was not long before it was discovered that human beings cannot be satisfied by a diet of play and diversion. Gradually the best of the centres changed their character and put active occupations in the forefront of their programmes. And here the old maxim about learning by doing came alive. The members of these centres came to them with a great diversity of capacities and interests. There were some who belonged by aptitude to the ranks of the intellectually and morally *élite*. Their unemployment gave them the chance of learning all the things they had always wanted to learn but for which they had never found time. This brought in a variety of intellectual and artistic pursuits. They studied languages, they discussed the big problems of life, they found satisfaction in the acquisition of arts and crafts and in dramatic representations. Others, less gifted perhaps, turned to practical tasks, to carpentry, to motor mechanics; in the case of women, to all the interesting work centred in good home-making, not only the utilitarian jobs but decoration and adornment.

It was a wonderful discovery of new powers, all the more wonderful because it was achieved by the simplest means. Men and women wanting to learn found leaders among their fellows with rather more knowledge and expertness than themselves. Often they did not even know they were learning, but learn they did on a basis of mutual service. And in doing so they created a kind of community of their own in which they found satisfaction in compensation for all they had lost.

Out of these occupational centres of the evil times of unemployment has sprung the idea of the 'community house'

where all citizens can come together for the enlargement of their common life and the better organisation of their voluntary activities.

DR. E. DE S. BRUNNER (U.S.A.): *The Challenge of Adult Education*

Broadly conceived, adult education includes all the activities with an educational purpose that are carried on by people engaged in the ordinary business of life. According to my colleague, Professor Lyman Bryson, it has five functions—and I shall use his convenient classification.

The first is the remedial, which in America, with its millions of foreign-born and others who are functionally illiterate, is more necessary than in most other countries. A second function is the occupational or vocational; it involves the training of young adults, of older students wanting to increase their efficiency, and of the unemployed. A third is the relational, involving all the techniques of human relationships. This includes not only parent education, but also the whole field of business relations, a field which pseudo-psychologists are ready to exploit unless genuine adult education meets their challenge.

These first three functions relate mainly to personal needs, but the remaining two are definitely more social. The fourth, the liberal function, includes all the cultural activities and aesthetic and physical pursuits as well. It covers those activities—partly educational, partly recreational—which are carried on for their own sake, without thought of vocational or financial return. The function of liberal adult education is to enlarge the spirit, the culture, the horizons of the individual. The fifth function is the political. In America at least, it is

realised that the schools can do no more than lay the groundwork for good citizenship. In a changing world the political knowledge gained in adolescence is not an adequate equipment for choosing competent representatives or for resisting skilled propaganda. Hence the present emphasis upon forums, panel discussions, and other means of enabling at least a minimum of voters to understand all sides of current questions.

These five kinds of education are all functions of the adult education movement in America today. The movement is new and therefore somewhat nebulous, but it is pervaded by the eagerness and enthusiasm of youth and feels that it can make a unique contribution to society.

The challenge to be met by such a movement is many-sided. Advances in technology, for example, while raising the standard of living, make many jobs obsolete and necessitate the re-education of those who are displaced. There is the example of one railroad company which has successfully undertaken the task of re-educating its train crews for the change-over from steam to electric trains. The same sort of problem cannot be escaped even in New Zealand. As the full possibilities of the age of power and chemistry become manifest, the adult education movement must look after technological re-education if the loss and suffering of unemployment are to be avoided.

Technological progress brings a further challenge to adult education—that of increased leisure. When the eight-hour day drops to seven, or six, or five, how will human beings use the added leisure? Doubtless there is a limit to the attractions of 'racing, rugby and 'restling,' and New Zealanders will turn even more than now to cultural activities.

Then there is the challenge of urbanisation, with its problems of over-crowding, and of family and individual adjustment amid the excitement and tensions of a mode of life new to the race—problems seen specifically in parent-child relationships and in competition for economic or social status.

In the emergency adult education programme in America, the work in parent education and in applied psychology provoked more sustained interest than that in many other fields—and, significantly enough, this was more marked in urban than in rural districts.

But there is the rural challenge as well. While in rural districts there is neither the population base nor the economic resources to sustain the specialised services and agencies of the city, there is no reason why in a democracy rural people should be deprived of all such advantages. The challenge has been met in America by the Agricultural Extension service, which I have described in another lecture.

The major challenge to adult education lies, in my judgment, in its political function. In the struggle between the old savage and the new man, democracies seem to offer more hope for the race—certainly the white race—than the totalitarian states. But democracies must have informed, alert, intelligent citizens. With the annihilation of space and time, problems have arisen which had hardly been conceived when the present generation of statesmen were at the university. How much more easily might the question of war debts have been dealt with after a generation of adult education in the political sphere! There is a need to look behind slogans, symbols and stereotypes.

Finally, these challenges to adult education are made more definite by the rapid ageing of the population, a concomitant of the falling birth-rate. Broadly speaking, the group of people over 65 years of age is at present rapidly increasing, and the group under 15 is sharply declining. From the political point of view, this is particularly serious. Age makes for conservatism. It wants security, stability, peace. A nation dominated by age will be dominated by tradition unless society accepts in time the maxim that to live is to learn. Fortunately, the researches of my colleagues, Thorndike and Lorge, have proved scientifically what thoughtful observers have long known—that you *can* teach an old dog new tricks. True, the highest

speed of learning is achieved in the early twenties, but the diminution is slight up to 45. Their recent studies, as yet unpublished, carry these conclusions still further. The elderly person who is mentally healthy can learn anything he chooses. It will take him longer at 70 than at 20—that is all. Here, then, is further hope for adult education in its efforts to meet successfully the challenges of modern society.

SIR PERCY MEADON, C.B.E., M.A. (England): *Adult Education in Lancashire*

The idea that adults need education is now more generally accepted, and the adult education movement which began not long ago as an experimental extension of university teaching is steadily becoming a permanent and integral part of our educational system and of national life, with a living and developing tradition of its own. If we compare the present position of adult education with its situation only a generation ago, we shall not find it difficult to discover grounds for optimism. Then the total amount of organised education of a non-vocational character for men and women was very small and was provided almost entirely by voluntary organisations, which occasionally co-operated with the universities. The voluntary principle is still vigorous, but is now assisted financially by both the State and the local education authorities, and the amount of such assistance increases each year. Moreover, the universities, the local education authorities and the voluntary bodies have each their own activities in this field of work and, in addition, show an increasing desire to enter into schemes of co-operation. In some administrative areas the number of adults in attendance at non-vocational courses established by the local education

authorities now exceeds the number attending courses arranged by the voluntary bodies. More and more the part played by the local authorities is becoming an important factor in the situation, although, unfortunately, a number of authorities still hold themselves aloof from the work. Not only has the total number of students substantially increased, but the quality of both the students and the teachers has improved, and, on the whole, it can be said that, notwithstanding its many-sided character and sporadic growth, there has been an advance in the technique of adult education. But I desire to refer more to the problems that have arisen than to the degree of success which has been achieved.

With this growth in the movement there has come increased recognition of the great variety of the capacities, needs and interests of the different students. Some join the adult classes because of their desire for greater personal development—the wish to satisfy their own intellectual, aesthetic and spiritual needs so that they may lead fuller and richer lives. Others are anxious to follow a particular course of study in the hope that it will help them to arrive at a more satisfactory philosophy of life. Many attend from a desire to understand the political and economic problems which confront society today, so that they may take a more intelligent and effective part in their own organisations or in public affairs. Some have the capacity and previous education to enable them to follow with benefit a three-year course which demands somewhat concentrated effort. Another type of student has already developed some intellectual interest and joins the class because of this interest and his desire to advance his knowledge of it. A different type comes without having acquired as yet any literary taste or interest. There are others who do not know what they want and are not likely to know until they have obtained some experience of what is available. Some are attracted by the opportunity for companionship the class affords.

We are finding that these differences in the students themselves, in their capacities, their attainments, their tastes, their aims and their outlook, are greater than were at first supposed, and it is not always easy for the tutor to discover a common starting place when a new class is beginning its work. In class after class, therefore, we find students who cannot stand the pace, and who are unable to give that personal contribution which educational work requires. Moreover, there are many to whom the type and standard of educational work we offer makes no appeal. Although there are subjects suitable for adult education which are not academic in character, the work conducted by the universities and the voluntary associations is still in the main academic in character and practically confined to economics, literature, psychology, philosophy, history, appreciation of art and music, and one or two branches of natural science. The work of the local authorities in this field is more diversified and wider in its range, but the small percentage of the total adult population which has so far been attracted to the movement is far from satisfactory and is an indication that either the content of our courses of study or our method of presentation fails to appeal to many. I do not wish to suggest that we want all or even a definite percentage of the population to attend adult classes over a period of years, but rather that we want adult education to be taken for granted by the whole community, so that it will make its appeal to the man in the street as well as to the enthusiast, to the general public as well as to the picked students.

We have perhaps tended to concentrate our attention upon the longer and more advanced courses for adults and have somewhat neglected the simpler, less strenuous, and less abstract forms which large numbers of this generation of adults undoubtedly need. Many of them find it difficult to maintain interest in one subject for a fairly long period, particularly if it necessitates close study and critical reading. The tutorial class system has helped a large number of men

and women and is a most valuable part of our adult education scheme, bringing, in a real sense, the university and its culture to the people outside its walls. It is essential that it should progress and that its standard should be kept high if the standard of the work of the movement as a whole is to be maintained. The one-year classes and the terminal courses make less strenuous demands and attract a larger number of students, although our experience is that some of these cease attendance because they find the work beyond them, while some who continue would have been more profitably engaged in attending simpler expositions with less exacting standards. For these members of the community we have to be prepared to use such agencies as discussion groups, dramatic and play-reading societies, natural history societies, literary societies, musical societies, week-end and short courses, and even single lectures. We have perhaps in the past thought of the adult education movement too much in terms of tutorial classes, one-year classes and terminal courses, with the tutorial class as the head and forefront of the movement, and the other classes as rather like tutorial classes of a less advanced character. The recent growth in adult education is, however, taking the movement on to new lines of development and enabling it to break new ground among new classes of students, and this old conception of the movement can no longer be held if we are to cater for the very diverse kinds of students we now have. Courses should be planned and conducted with the needs of different types of students definitely in mind, and with the knowledge that they have only limited leisure.

Recognition of the fact that those who could not fulfil the strenuous obligations of tutorial class study needed a different kind of class with different aims and a different technique led to a striking contribution to adult education being made by the London County Council in the shape of their Literary Institutes, Women's Institutes and Men's Institutes. The popularity and success of these Institutes, with the many-sided appeals they make, have served to emphasise the fact that

'adult education is the education of men and women, by all the ways and means that ingenuity can devise, for all the purposes of life.' The Literary Institutes provide classes in such subjects as literature, history, languages, social science, music and elocution for students who have received a good basis of education. The students are not drawn from organised bodies but come singly from the general unorganised public. The Men's Institutes deal with another side of the adult education problem and cater for a different type of student who has undertaken no education since he left the elementary school. The subjects taken include handicrafts, hobbies, music, physical training and general cultural subjects. The Women's Institutes offer instruction in a wide range of practical subjects associated with the home, as well as in literature, art, music, physical training and health subjects.

May I give an account of some activities in the area I am fortunate to serve. The Lancashire Education Committee's interest in adult education is of long standing, but until September, 1928, it was almost wholly indirect and took the form of grants-in-aid to the Universities of Manchester and Liverpool, the W.E.A., and in a somewhat different manner to the rural Women's Institute movement within the county area. This procedure was typical of its attitude towards all worthy voluntary bodies and in accord with its policy of encouraging them to develop along their own lines, rather than to assume control of their activities or to dictate to them in any way. It was evident, however, not long after the War, that despite the valuable contribution made by the voluntary bodies, this was by no means enough, and that by far the larger section of the community was either receiving little attention or could not be adequately catered for by the existing machinery.

Nowhere was this more obvious than in the rural parts of the county, even though in some respects the problem presented was equally urgent in its industrial districts; but whereas the inhabitants of the latter had some kind of

access to cultural amenities, the countryside was practically out of touch, possibly, too, out of sympathy, with the newer educational developments and to some extent with the many social organisations which have sprung into being in the post-war world.

The urgent needs of the large population in industrial Lancashire coupled with the geographical disposition of the universities made it difficult for the voluntary bodies to give much consideration to the rural areas or, for that matter, to many of the smaller urban districts, and it was, in fact, for this reason that the Education Committee decided, after consultation with the universities, to embark upon its own scheme in an area to which it alone had easy access and where it was known and recognised as the voluntary bodies were not. Another, and equally important, reason urging it to direct action was the realisation that new methods, if not new aims, must be attempted in order that the appeal to the people might be widened sufficiently to attract the general body of the adult community.

Attempts to stimulate and direct the interests of country people were in being elsewhere and the Women's Institutes were actively engaged within the County. Not only, however, was this body exclusively concerned with women, but its activities were largely social in character: what the Committee wanted primarily was to quicken interest in 'the things of the mind,' a difficult task in an area with no humanistic links and without a cultural tradition. To have offered set and formal courses would have met with no response, to have worked at first through the channels of the evening school would have been equally fatal. It was, therefore, decided to appoint an organiser to reside in the district and to give him a generous measure of freedom to experiment. His job was to develop activities which, while of a good standard, were definitely acceptable to the people themselves. In September, 1928, the first organiser appointed took up residence in the district and, at an inaugural meeting to

which all the representative people in the area had been invited, the Committee's scheme was launched.

To speak or write of a scheme at this stage is possibly a little misleading. There was in effect no scheme, only an organiser, charged with the mission—the word is used advisedly—of arousing the interest of the people in the area in what were then very vaguely defined cultural amenities and to bring home to them their needs on this side of life. It was a highly speculative venture which might easily have failed at an early date. That it did not do so is ample justification of the Committee's action. Within the short space of nine years it became a recognised organisation with its groups and branches not only in some sixty villages, but also in twenty urban centres and requiring the services of three full-time organisers and a host of part-time tutors.

The first organiser began activities by personal interviews with representative people and sometimes with casual acquaintances in Garstang, the selected focus of the work. (The difference between urban and rural Lancashire can perhaps be most readily appreciated when it is realised that this, the largest township in the area, has a total population of less than a thousand. Many of the villages are indeed much smaller, those lying along the slopes of the Pennines or hidden in the folds of the Lake District being no more than scattered hamlets, with, in several instances, a day-school population of about twenty, so that the removal of one or two families is sufficient to upset the balance of possible attendances for either day-school or adult evening work).

The results of the first interviews were sufficiently encouraging to make a preliminary meeting possible and out of this came a short series of lectures or talks—the latter term was preferably employed for some considerable time—in local history. The venture thus launched, it was possible to approach other villages supported by a concrete achievement, which proved more valuable by way of illustration than a discourse on adult education and its

possibilities. Although the demand for local history is not frequently urged, now that the varied activities conducted are more generally known and appreciated, the approach to a potential centre still follows early procedure. First the interviews and the hunting up of individuals, then the preliminary meeting, with a tentative programme to follow, and, if this prove successful or sufficiently encouraging, the arranging, for the next session, of a somewhat more ambitious series of activities.

In the majority of centres the appeal is made in the first instance through a single-talks programme spread out either monthly or fortnightly during the winter months and arranged for the most suitable evening of the week. To the townsman any evening might seem suitable in a village, but no view could be more erroneous. Most villages nowadays, particularly during the winter, are hives of social activities and the difficulty of finding a free evening that will suit the community as a whole is often considerable. Even where this condition of things does not obtain, another difficulty is presented by the transport facilities which make access to the cinema in the nearest town increasingly easy.

Both these factors, so indicative of the manner in which increased leisure is occupied by the average man and woman—particularly the younger adult—have had to be borne in mind in making the first appeal to a centre and have emphasised the need to introduce activities which bear upon living interests and to meet the people at their own level, which is usually far removed from the intellectual plane. Attractive titles for talks have to be employed and the programme itself based upon the nature and interests of the village approached. In the more isolated centres constant use has been made of good lantern lectures, a typical programme being the following organised at Foxfield, remotely set in the Lake District: An Early Reformer; Then and Now; Geology of the Lake District; The Tirol; A Trip to the Alps; Some Victorian Novelists; How Parliament

Works; East Africa; Ceylon; The Western Highlands; Do Animals Reason? As an intermediate type conducted at Warton, a fairly large village and a little nearer the towns, the following is typical: Romantic Composers in Music; The Villages of Morecambe Bay; Modern Tendencies in Art; Old Fallacies about Birds; The Brontes; Everyday Science; Aspects of Modern Literature; Humour in Literature.

Whenever possible the single-talks programme has been followed by a short course or courses in one or other of the subjects treated in the introductory lecture. Thus the talks on books in the above programme were followed by a short course of six meetings on modern literature. In some instances, however, the appeal to the community of the single talk has been too great to allow this kind of programme to be entirely superseded by courses and in many centres there has been an interweaving of the course and the single-talks programme. The most notable example of this is afforded in Pilling Lane, where the work was initiated in 1929. This is a small and scattered community living on the shores of Morecambe Bay and chiefly occupied in poultry-keeping. Here, in successive winters, fortnightly lectures have been given, of a standard quite comparable with those arranged by a university extension board and as appreciatively followed. These have been attended regularly for some seven years by an average of at least forty adults, and vigorous discussions have formed an essential feature of each meeting. The following programme is typical: Modern Literature; Music Today; Border History; Science in the Modern World; Our Educational System; Europe as Seen from Geneva (2); National Planning; The Kingdom of the Mind; George Romney; Local Government. In addition, a smaller group has regularly, throughout the winter, listened to and discussed successive series of broadcast talks.

Although on an average some 200 single lectures are now given annually, they form actually only a small part of the work, the greater part of which is increasingly conducted

in courses of varying length. Last year, for example, there were 50 such short courses and 33 longer courses (a short course being of not more than eleven and a longer course of twelve or more meetings' duration).

Attendances for these have usually been lower than for single talks, but the substitution of the group for the audience, the maintained contact with the one tutor and the greater possibilities for discussion have given the group so formed a stability quite, or almost, lacking in the more casual audience; but only in the more remote centres have such attendances been less than 10 and the average for the course in the larger centres has been 18, although in several places much higher regular attendances have been recorded. In one centre 50 adults have followed a course in music for the past three years.

Not the least interesting feature of the work has been the constantly increasing demand during the past three or four years for talks and courses bearing directly upon the very crucial problems in the modern world and nowhere has this been more noticeable than in the men's groups which were instituted experimentally some three years ago. In a number of villages it had been noted that whereas women came readily to meetings, the men were less responsive and it was, therefore, decided to appeal directly to them by the attempted organising of informal men's discussion groups. They were variably successful, but in several centres the numbers who came forward seemed to justify their continuance and such groups are now becoming an accepted and desired feature of the scheme in both rural and urban centres. All are mainly preoccupied with modern problems, although, as the following programme of a fortnightly series indicates, by no means exclusively so:

The Morning's Paper; Democracies and Dictatorships; Getting the Best out of Reading; Our Educational System; Chemistry in the Service of Man; The Novels of Thomas Hardy; Exploring the Sub-conscious Mind; China Today;

What we Owe to the Greeks; The Local Water Supply; National and Town Planning; Voluntary Organisation in the Service of the State.

Allied with this kind of informal activity is the broadcast listening group. From the outset of the work, use has been made of the programme broadcast regularly for discussion groups, and while their numbers have fluctuated considerably—largely on account of the nature of the programme broadcast—in most sessions at least six such groups have followed a winter's series of talks with commendable regularity. Frequently the organising of a listening group has led to the formation of a class conducted directly by a tutor, a procedure wholly in accord with the aims of the Broadcasting Corporation in stimulating through its talks-programmes the interests of the ordinary run of men and women in more formal and consequential adult work.

Although the interest in modern problems is increasing, it is still exceeded by that shown in the drama and music as living arts. Nothing else conducted under the scheme has given quite so clear an indication of the sense of very real enjoyment that comes from leisure rightly used. From the beginning the response to the drama has been remarkable, and the great majority of villages now have their drama groups which meet regularly to study plays and to follow both the theoretical and practical side of dramatic work. In the smaller centres the drama group forms an integral part of the rural adult organisation; in the urban centres special courses in dramatic technique and the choice and study of good plays have been arranged to appeal particularly, though not exclusively, to members of various amateur organisations.

Younger people in particular have been attracted to this kind of work. In the majority of instances, groups follow up the study of plays and of dramatic technique in the courses arranged by the production of both short and longer plays. The amount of extra time so given is substantial, for, in addition to the actual taking of parts, group members

construct their own scenery, frequently make their own costumes, and arrange lighting effects to supplement the usually inadequate and meagre fittings to be found in most village halls. Some productions of both modern and standard plays have thus been given not only locally, but in other villages, and the co-operation entailed in this latter procedure has greatly helped the general conduct of the work. The fact that the classes study and produce such plays as *Macbeth*, *Dear Brutus*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, *The Devil's Disciple*, *Laburnum Grove*, *Hobson's Choice*, *The Silver Box*, *Escape*, *Children in Uniform*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and a great number of modern short plays, is indicative both of the standard achieved and the interest shown in an art which appeals so directly to country people.

The stimulation of an interest in music surprisingly enough proved at first somewhat difficult, but during the past three years a growing number of music groups have been formed and musical appreciation is supplemented in them by the preparation of madrigals, glees and longer works, particularly those of Handel. The most recent development on this side has been the formation in two centres of orchestral groups.

By the end of the third winter session, it was observable that members who had remained faithful began to be concerned about the following year, and some attempt at planning programmes well in advance was made. In a sense this closed the more definitely pioneering chapter and organisation has certainly been very much easier since then. This coincided with an extension of the work to the Lake District, or that part of it within the county borders, and a second organiser was appointed to develop activities in this very difficult area.

The most serious problem here was the lack of a sufficient number of suitable part-time tutors, a difficulty only to be overcome for some time by the organiser conducting personally a number of the activities which he was able to

initiate. Although this difficulty had been less marked elsewhere, it was fairly acute and still remains an obstacle to progress. Except on very rare occasions it is impossible to call upon the services of the university staffs, and the organisation has had to fall back on the limited number of people in the area itself who are not only willing but suitable, both by attainment and personal qualifications, to assist in this kind of work, which often involves journeys of from fifteen to twenty miles to and from a village. At present some fifty part-time lecturers and tutors serve on the rural panel and the difficulty of increasing this number or of making changes in the personnel is giving rise to some concern, particularly as there is every indication of continued expansion in the future. An increasing part in local organisation is fortunately being taken by local voluntary secretaries and committees and not the least active have been the village head teachers and their assistants. Their contribution during the whole course of the scheme has been invaluable.

A further aid towards the co-ordination of activities and the strengthening of co-operative effort has been the holding annually of a gathering or rally at Garstang for the southern part of the area and at Ulverston for the Lake District. These have now established themselves as an essential feature and are regularly attended by representatives and members of all the groups taking part in the work. Procedure for these has crystallised into a special afternoon lecture followed by tea and an evening demonstration of plays and music performed by members of groups in the various villages. These annual gatherings are supplemented also by excursions during the summer period and by local social activities, all of which contribute to the continuation of the work less as a scheme than as a movement.

During the past twelve months a new direction has been given to the Committee's interest by its decision to provide for the needs of its many smaller urban districts. To initiate

this new scheme the organising tutor was withdrawn from rural work and a third organiser appointed to succeed him at Garstang, where, it should be mentioned, the rural organisation is housed in a special building and where the Garstang groups meet for courses and lectures. This building also houses the local branch of the County Library.

As yet the urban movement is only in its pioneering stages and the main concern thus far is with the general body of the people with whom the Committee is desirous that contact shall be made. In carrying out the Committee's wishes, the organiser has conducted campaigns in the many clubs and institutions active in the towns and the response has been very good.

All the results of the current session are not as yet tabulated, but briefly it can be said that the total number of centres—inclusive of urban and rural areas—for the year now ending has been approximately 80 and that in them not less than 1,200 meetings have been conducted during the course of the session. To these, people of all types have come with increasing regularity.

In addition to the type of work carried out under the scheme described, the local education authority has worked hard to foster the growth of non-vocational or informal courses of study in its technical schools and evening institutes, both for men and women. It also gives financial assistance to the two Universities in its area in respect of their extra-mural work and to the voluntary bodies, such as the Workers' Educational Association, who conduct educational classes. The only conditions laid down for this co-operation are the usual ones—viz., that the courses shall be open to all students who desire to attend and can profit by them; that the classes shall be conducted by teachers who are properly qualified in the subjects; and that the courses of study shall be free from political propaganda.

Usually adult education classes have no rooms of their own in which to meet and are dependent upon such

accommodation as is available. This means that a variety of rooms are in use and not all are well suited to the needs of adults. It is a decided advantage when the local education authority can place centrally situated premises that are heated and well-lighted, and furnished with comfortable seats and tables, at the disposal of the adult classes either free or at a nominal rent. As it is, a large number of classes meet in the schoolrooms, though unfortunately not all are provided with suitable seats. The growth in the number of secondary and new senior schools with their more suitable furniture is proving very helpful for these classes. Some local authorities are furnishing selected rooms for adult classes in areas where a settlement, or club, is not available.

With the expansion of the movement has arisen the problem of the supply of suitable tutors. Leadership in a democratic class of adults calls not only for sound knowledge of the subject, but also for the skilful teacher who is able to adapt his methods to the attainments and outlook of his students, giving good-humoured and provocative lectures rather than academic and dry ones and generally adapting his treatment to the topic under consideration. It is also very helpful if he has an acquaintance with the social background of those forming the class so that he can draw upon their experiences and the better appreciate their approach to the points raised. He should know, too, how to stimulate discussion and to control its relevance. He has also to hold a strictly objective view of controversial subjects, often in the face of partisan opinions forcibly expressed by some of his students. The supply of first-rate tutors is, of course, limited. Fortunately we now have a nucleus of full-time tutors in adult education who are able to establish a professional standard in the conduct of classes. These experienced tutors can give expert guidance to young teachers and discuss with them their difficulties and schemes of work, particularly if conferences, or week-end or summer schools, are arranged as meeting places for those engaged

in teaching adult classes. When these whole-time tutors are able to reside in the districts they serve, and have a close acquaintance with the life of their areas, they are much better able to bring their powers of organising and teaching to their difficult task than are the occasional tutors whose chief occupation is elsewhere. Experience has shown that it is easy for the enthusiastic full-time tutor to be over-loaded with classes. This, of course, is an unsound policy, especially if the tutor is to retain his freshness and have proper time for the preparation of his lectures and for keeping in touch with the communal life of the university or other body to which he is attached. We have now reached a stage at which we need, in every area where adult education is developing, at least some nucleus of full-time tutors of different types with whom we can associate occasional or part-time tutors. These full-time tutors, besides taking some classes, co-ordinate the work of the part-time tutors in their area and undertake the work of stimulation of interest in adult education, working up groups which can subsequently be taken over by other tutors, thus stimulating demand as well as organising supply. There are also problems arising in connection with the development of work amongst women, and we have found that the appointment of a woman staff-tutor has led to the formation of special types of classes suitable for and attractive to women.

Quite often the tutor has to give guidance in reading to some of his students if they are to develop the habit of active study as opposed to passive listening, and to discuss with them difficulties they have encountered in the course of their reading. Fortunately, in making their lists of books for reading, the tutors are now able to draw upon the resources of the local and the county libraries as well as the regional and national libraries.

One discouragement which the tutor has to face is the frequent change in the membership of his class—the introduction of new faces and the losing sight of the old

and known ones. This discouragement is lessened when the tutor has the opportunity of working for an adult school or college or settlement where each succeeding generation of students leaves its mark and where he can therefore still observe the effect of his work after the students have left. This is one of the many advantages of a close connection between adult education and a place of learning which has a corporate life of its own. Many local educational authorities now appreciate the importance of this point of view, and are endeavouring to establish close co-operation between their technical colleges and the adult education movement by providing suitably furnished classrooms and common-rooms for adults in the colleges. This may lead to the development of a new type of local college or centre of learning which may have a marked beneficial effect on the social life of the people.

DR. F. W. HART (U.S.A.): *Adult Education*

There are many sound reasons for an ever-increasing emphasis upon adult education. I shall restrict my remarks to a few that seem particularly important at the present time—first, the rapidity of change in our social, political and economic life; second, the onslaught of organised forces seeking to destroy democracy; third, the gathering war cloud that threatens to destroy our contemporary civilisation; and fourth, the wide-spread evil of civic complacency or civic apathy.

With reference to the first of these, it is a commonplace that whereas in decades past a man might learn a trade or master a profession feeling a fair degree of certainty that he would be able to pursue that trade or profession throughout his life, and even be assured that he could pass his knowledge

on to his children, who could look forward to economic security on the basis of that knowledge, such is not the case today. Almost with the rising of the sun each successive day we witness changes that have destroyed, modified or made useless the efforts of a lifetime. No trade, no skill, no profession enjoys security.

The second point, the onslaught of organised forces seeking to destroy democratic government, scarcely requires elaboration. Since the conclusion of the World War we have witnessed the fall of democracies throughout the world, like the fall of frosted leaves in the autumn rain. If we wish to continue to live in societies in which the just powers of the government are derived from the consent of the governed, we must assume the responsibility as citizens of democracies of governing ourselves wisely and effectively.

The threat of war, a war vastly more destructive than the Great War, can only be averted through intelligent action on the part of adults today, and such action must be based upon an enlightened, informed and alert citizenry. Civic complacency and civic apathy are the greatest enemies of democratic government.

Fortunately for the promotion of adult education, our psychologists have in recent years exploded an old theory behind which lazy minds sought refuge. It has been very commonly said that 'you cannot teach an old dog new tricks.' It is now known that this is not true. The ability of man to learn does not begin to decline until after the age of 45 or 50, and it declines comparatively slowly even then. We can therefore take no refuge behind the false doctrine that the adult cannot learn. Desire and effort are the only necessary conditions for the learning which may be necessary for the solution of our social, political and economic problems.

I shall not discuss further generalities, but present what I hold to be the most challenging issue calling for the attention of adults in the world today—how may we absorb our surplus man-power in socially useful ways? Surplus man-power is a

quaking volcano upon which our contemporary civilization is sitting, and unless a solution of the problem is found, a devastating eruption is inevitable. Surplus man-power means a low standard of living, a low standard of living makes for social unrest, social unrest for economic disorder, political revolution, civil war, international war, widespread disaster.

The absorption of surplus man-power is a controversial question the answer to which has not been found. Many countries are temporising with it, but temporising is not a solution. The fact that a question is controversial is all the more reason why it should be given ever-increasing prominence. Unfortunately, however, most of us are not inclined to approach controversial issues in a very intelligent manner. We are prone to read the newspapers that support our beliefs and ignore or vilify the ones that do not. This is stupid, the worst form of stupidity, for even if we do not wish to be induced to change our minds in the light of opposing evidence, we would be far better prepared to defend our point of view if we knew what the other man was basing his arguments upon. I recognise that it is difficult to force oneself to give thoughtful consideration to the other fellow's point of view, but it is absolutely necessary for intelligent understanding. At home, hard as it is, I compel myself to read all of the editorials that I can get hold of signed by William Randolph Hearst! I do it for no other reason than just to see how it must feel to think like that.

The intelligent approach to controversial issues, it seems to me, is for us all to begin at a point where we are in substantial agreement, and move step by step through the logical sequences of the argument. As we proceed we will probably come to a point where our lines of thought diverge and the weighing of evidence, and the application of critical analysis is called for. This is the procedure that I wish to follow with reference to the question of surplus man-power. I shall state each proposition in turn, supporting it briefly, with

the thought that as we move forward my point of view may be challenged by my listeners.

We will begin thus: organised society owes no employable man a living. There may be a few sentimental souls in the world who would urge that any man, merely because he happens to be born, is entitled to a living regardless of whether he is willing to work or not; but I doubt if there are many. Second: organised society owes every employable man an opportunity of earning a living. Now, there may be a few people so selfish, so greedy, so hard-boiled, that they would be willing to see members of their own society starve to death without assuming the responsibility of providing for them an opportunity of earning a living; but, again, I doubt if there are many such individuals in an enlightened world. The third proposition that I would state and defend is that the natural resources and powers of production in almost every country throughout the world are such that every man, woman and child could enjoy a comfortable standard of living.

Now, if organised society owes every employable man an opportunity to earn a living, and if the natural resources and powers of production are such that every man, woman and child could enjoy a comfortable standard of living, a further proposition seems undeniable; namely, that by the application of our collective intelligence we should be able to make it possible for every man, woman and child to enjoy a comfortable standard of living.

Now we come to a proposition with which some will disagree. It is this: the application of science and technology—the machine—to industry, agriculture, transportation, commerce and life in general, is responsible in the main for our problem of surplus man-power, for our great scourge of unemployment. It may be argued that each new machine that is introduced offsets the number of men replaced by providing new work in other lines. With regard to some machines this argument is sound, but in the long run employment must be diminished, since the only reason for introducing the machine

is that production may be maintained or increased with a smaller man-power investment.

In my opinion we are only on the verge of mechanization. The modern labour destroyers are increasing in number and in efficiency. For example, in America the Rust Cotton Picker is perfected and ready to travel into the cotton fields of the South and throw two million coloured labourers out of work, thus denying them the meagre existence they have been able to eke out of the cotton fields. In the steel industry continuous rolling mills have been installed which will eventually throw three-quarters of the workers off the pay-roll. Photo-electric scan-eyes, completely controlling huge machines, are either already installed or waiting to pantograph any pattern set before them. This means the elimination of thousands of pattern makers. In the city of Los Angeles with the installation of automatic telephone exchanges, 5 employees took the place of 350.

In the light of such evidence, I would submit a further statement; namely, never again shall we see our surplus man-power absorbed by private enterprise in what we have in the past called useful work. We have thought of men as being usefully employed only when they were engaged in the production of profit-making goods, goods for immediate use or consumption. We have even heard those engaged in teaching and other public services characterised as 'blood-suckers' because they are not producing goods that could be sold for a profit.

If we are to find the solution of our problem of surplus man-power we must therefore re-define useful work, and through the application of this definition provide ever-increasing socially useful employment for the ever-increasing man-power released by the machine. What must be the characteristics of this socially useful work that is to absorb our surplus man-power? In the first place it must be of a form that will not glut the market with consumable goods. In the

second place it must be of a nature that will make for a better society.

Among the many examples of socially useful work, as re-defined, may be mentioned art, music, literature; and organised society must recognise and reward contributions in these fields. A concrete example of socially useful work that might in every country employ hundreds of thousands, or millions of men, would be the conversion into landscape gardens of the unsightly roads and highways that gash and scar the face of nature. In our country it is conceivable that every highway throughout the land might be a beautiful landscape garden, with trees, scrubs, flowers and lawns that would make travelling a joy and a satisfaction to all. Further, organised society might assume the responsibility for the restoration of our natural resources—rivers, lakes, fish, game, land—wantonly destroyed by our own and past generations in the mad rush to scoop up the wealth that had accumulated, over the ages, in our country. Such an investment would not bring any immediate returns, but would leave to posterity something approximating what we found when we set about exploiting the country. We all hope that our civilization will persist indefinitely. If that hope is to be realised we must leave something, or prepare the way for something, upon which that civilization can exist.

Just one more example of useful work in which society might make long-term investments. We might think of organising a national intelligence service to serve us in peace time as the army intelligence service serves the army in time of war. An army without an intelligence service that brought to the desk of the commanding officer every obtainable atom of information with regard to the position and plans and strength of the enemy, would be in a tragic plight. I maintain that any society in time of peace that does not have a similar national intelligence service to bring to its administration every item of information obtainable with reference to the onslaught of depression, or unrest, or war, is not in a position to forestall

or prevent disaster. The number and variety of such socially useful employments is endless, and there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that all employable men and women could be absorbed in positions appropriate to their training and ability, with lasting benefit to themselves and to the society of which they are members.

Now we come to the crucial question of paying for such a programme of useful work. Can we afford it? My answer is, in the first place, that we cannot afford not to do it. If we do not provide respectable and permanent employment for our people, and a comfortable standard of living, we shall not long endure as an organised intelligent society. How can it be paid for? First, if every man, woman and child throughout the land was enjoying a comfortable standard of living, the consumption of goods, the production of private enterprise, would be enormously increased, and as a result the normal sources of taxation would produce vastly greater revenue. This would help in part to carry the load, but the more important consideration that I would submit to your thoughtful criticism is that if the machine is responsible in the main for our surplus man-power, the machine must be made to pay; otherwise the machine will be our master, rather than we masters of the machine. We want the hard labour of the world done by machines where it can be done as well as or better than by man-power, but we do not want it done by machines if in the doing men are denied the right to earn a living.

We cannot go backwards; we cannot discard the machine and put man-power to work under the primitive conditions of the man-power age. That, it seems to me, is certain. The best illustration I know of occurred in our own country when in the depth of the depression steam shovels were abandoned and men were put to work on the highways with pick, shovel, and wheel-barrow. On one job, one of the workers asked the foreman if the amount of dirt they were moving each day was entirely satisfactory. When assured that it was he canvassed

his fellow workmen, securing an agreement to make a contribution of ten cents a day to employ a steam shovel to move the dirt, while the men sat on the bank and played cards. That man was using his intelligence. No, we cannot solve this problem by moving backwards.

I can perhaps make my point of view clear by example. Suppose, as a manufacturer, I wish to put in a newly-developed machine that will replace one hundred men. Now, in a democratic society I should have the right to install that machine, but organised society should have a right to safeguard the livelihood of the men who would be displaced through my introduction of the machine. Therefore, as I see it, organised society should be in a position to say to me: 'Yes, Mr. Hart, we should be glad to have you put in the machine, but in so doing provision must be made for society to carry the responsibility of providing employment for the men this machine displaces. Therefore, let us have this new machine calibrated in such a way as to show just how many men will in the final analysis be out of work because of it.' Let us assume here that the calibration reveals that the operation and upkeep of the machine will provide permanent employment for thirty men. Let us assume that society wishes to make it profitable for me to put in the machine. It will then say to me, 'We will give you a margin of twenty adult men in order that you can afford to install the machine.' Society may assume responsibility for these twenty men through its normal sources of revenue, but there would remain fifty men not provided for. Now, organised society would say to me, 'Since your machine is to release permanently a net number of fifty men, it will be necessary for us to place against this machine a released man-power charge sufficient to provide employment in socially useful work for all of the men thus released.' In this way it would seem to me that society could become master of the machine and that we might thus escape the devastating influence of the juggernaut that we have ourselves created.

It is upon problems and issues of this kind that I feel adult education should be concentrating in every land throughout the world, for unless we do find a permanent and enlightened solution of this ever-increasing problem, the future holds no happiness for mankind.

DR. F. W. HART (U.S.A.): *Civic Complacency*

May I speak to you not as teachers or parents, but as citizens, citizens of a country like our own, where the just powers of the government are derived from the consent of the governed? May I speak to you as citizens individually and collectively responsible for the success or failure of such a government? The Great War was fought to make the world safe for democracy. Since that war we have heard loud bellowing dictators, who, having seized the reins of government, tell us that we are incapable of governing ourselves.

Democracy in all of its forms is on trial for its life throughout the world today, and, unless we take the witness stand and by our testimony prove beyond the question of a doubt our ability to govern ourselves wisely and effectively, the judgment will be against us, and government by the consent of the governed will be banished from the face of the earth.

I do not enjoy the role of an alarmist, but the geese that cackled under the walls of Rome rendered a greater service to their city than all the sleeping optimists within. Historically, I should not mind having been one of those geese. Optimism that serves to conceal the facts and thus impair our vision is an unmitigated curse. During the dark years of the depression we were admonished to smile. Humourists were

asked to wisecrack us out of the depression; even crooners were enlisted. But in the end it took the expenditure of billions upon billions of dollars to put men to work, to turn the tide of the depression, and I venture to forecast it will require ever-increasing billions to hold the tide in check. Optimism did not stem the tide of the depression; optimism will not halt the tidal wave that is destroying democracy in the world today. That democracies have fallen we all readily admit, but until they begin to fall about our very heads we do not seem to become alarmed.

As an example of the fact that a democracy can fall, even within a democracy, I wish to present a few facts with regard to what did happen in the second largest city in the United States, and to point out the reasons. In 1932 I served as a member of a commission invited to make a survey of the schools of Chicago. At the time, the City of Chicago was bankrupt, both financially and morally in so far as its government was concerned. Chicago was not bankrupt because of the depression; it was well on the way to bankruptcy before the depression broke; the depression only added to its plight.

The reasons for the breakdown of orderly government in Chicago are four—three immediate reasons, and one fundamental underlying reason. First, there was an obsolescent system of taxation, eighty years old at that time and perpetuated by a group of citizens who profited immensely by its obsolescence. Intangible wealth—stocks and like assets—had not come into existence at the time the taxation system was evolved. At the time of which we are speaking, approximately two-thirds of the wealth of Chicago was of the intangible sort, leaving practically the whole of the burden of government upon common property, which constituted only one-third of the wealth of the city.

The obsolescent machinery of government made possible the second cause of bankruptcy—namely, corruption in the administration of the taxation system. The pay rolls were

farmed out by the taxing authorities. This practice ultimately led to the rolls being declared unlawful, thus making it possible for the long-overburdened common property taxpayer to organise a taxation strike. This spread rapidly, and ultimately resulted in an almost complete breakdown in the collection of taxes. This was the third of the reasons to which I referred.

The fourth reason for the bankruptcy of Chicago, and the one that is of special concern to us here, is best expressed in the words of the leading public men of Chicago who before 1929, when approached by representatives of the citizens investigating the taxation situation, said: 'Yes, we know what is going on, but it is not worth the effort for us to take our time off from our business and go out and wage a campaign for government reform. It would cost us more, and we would be less well off, even if successful, than we are as it is.' In other words, leading citizens frankly admitted that they were willing to pay tribute to the gangsters and grafters just as long as they were able to carry on their own personal affairs profitably. But when the break came in 1929 and they could no longer make money faster than their exploiting politicians could squander it, they rushed into the breach as self-appointed dictators, and declared that now 'the taxpayer would take a hand.' To quote the chairman of this self-constituted dictatorship: 'The business men of Chicago have learned their lesson. We will not again let the mechanism run wild, since we are keeping our minds strictly on the matter of immediate reduction in expenditure. We have not yet decided how we shall work out the matter of future control. Eventually we may have a permanent organisation to embrace the general purposes of the existing committee.'

One cannot be too severe in one's condemnation of such a committee stepping in to tide over a temporary breakdown, but when such a committee says, 'Eventually we may have a permanent organisation to embrace the general purposes

of the existing committee,' we recognise potential dictatorship in its most damnable form—the dictatorship of organised wealth.

The citizens of Chicago had thus, through their civic complacency, sacrificed in a very true sense their right to govern themselves. The price of civic complacency is economic ruin, social disaster, and the death of democracy.

The only certain solution of the problem confronting us—the threat to our form of government—is the world-wide spread of an intense interest in, and a study of the problems incidental to self-government. The problem is as large as the problem of all education itself, but specifically, and for immediate consideration, I would put it to you that every individual should become an intensely interested student of the problems of his government, local and national.

I would suggest that the dining-room table in every home become the round table of civic matters, and that the fireside of one home in every city block become the gathering point within that block of all the adult population, for the purpose of studying and discussing issues of a social, political and economic nature. Such fireside forums throughout the land would go far to a real awakening of interest, not only in the preservation of our form of government, but in its improvement and perpetuation.

DR. PAUL L. DENGLER (Austria): *Universities in Changing Europe*

The universities of the Continent are all of the same general type; much of their organisation and many of their ceremonies and privileges go back to the Middle Ages. There are still today only the four traditional faculties of Law, Medicine, Theology, and Philosophy, the latter corresponding

to the American College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Many of the fields of knowledge that are included in the curriculum of institutions of higher learning in England and America—for example, the technical sciences, art, agriculture, and commerce—are not considered to belong to the university, but are provided for elsewhere.

The University of Vienna, one of the oldest in Europe, was founded in 1365, just after the founding of the University of Prague. The Senate and the Rector are elected annually by the whole four faculties and each faculty is governed by a Dean elected annually by the members of his own particular faculty. These positions are honorary and it is regarded as a great privilege to hold them. Students who wish to progress always remember to address the Dean as 'Your Respectability' and the Rector as 'Your Magnificence.' In the order of precedence the latter gentleman used to rank with the Prime Minister immediately following the Royal Family. That was as Rector. Next year he was once more a humble professor—or as humble as professors are!

The fundamental principles upon which the Continental university has been based are *freedom of teaching* and *freedom of learning*. The first principle implies that the professor is entirely free to decide what courses he gives, from where he selects his material, and from what angle he presents it. Prior to the Great War the appointment of the university staff was in the hands of the democratic Senate and was final once it was made. No professor could be dismissed for opinions that did not coincide with those of the government in power. Freedom of learning for the student means that he chooses for himself both his courses and the teachers under whom he wants to study. There is no compulsory attendance at lectures or courses from the very first day he enters the university. A student may attend only one lecture a year—although he is supposed to get a certificate from his professor at the end of each semester; student organisations may make representations to the Rector

and the Senate of the university; no one is urged to do physical exercises and there is no military training at all. In short, the student is treated in every way as a free and independent academic citizen supposed to know better than anyone else what suits him best. The professor may be applauded or howled down by his audience; and, personally, I have seen more than one thrown out of the lecture room!

Until recently the German or Austrian student was permitted to wander over the earth in search of the best teachers in his particular subject; it was rare for a student of science or the liberal arts to complete his whole course of study in one place. An Austrian student might spend one semester at Vienna, another at Oxford, another at Paris, another at Berlin, another at Yale; and provided that he reported back at his university in his fourth and final year he qualified to sit the final examination. This migration of students from place to place, which is reminiscent of the wanderings of scholars in the Middle Ages, has great advantages. In particular it provides the student with a very thorough and many-sided training in his field. Having taken his doctorate—since he has taken his bachelor's degree at the end of his *Gymnasium* course, and there is no master's degree—he may work at his chosen profession for one, two, or more years with little or no pay. Then he may go as a *Privatdozent* to another university from which, if he makes his mark as a scholar and a teacher, he may be called to a position of *Extraordinarius*, or assistant professor, at some other university. Still further changes may follow until finally perhaps he returns as *Ordinarius* or professor to his own *Alma Mater*.

In recent years a great change has come over the universities in the totalitarian countries. The university is no longer regarded as a place of research for its own sake. In a number of fields the professor must accept certain fundamental principles *a priori*, which often means that research has to proceed on certain prescribed lines in

accordance with party dogmas. Those who refuse to conform are eliminated. So conceived, the function of the university is to serve the totalitarian State, and the university itself becomes a political institution. Pure science, if it does not serve the general spiritual mobilisation of the nation, is neglected.

There is no doubt that the old ideal is a much greater and broader one. The educational ideal of the totalitarian State was born out of the situation of the day, was perhaps a necessity for the day, but cannot be regarded as a lasting one. Its justification, if there is one, must be found in the general state of mind of Europe and in the all-pervading sense of danger. From the kindergarten to the university this tension is felt, and everyone tends to regard himself as a citizen-soldier, whether he serves his country in the barrack-yards, or in the lecture halls of the university. Who knows whether war will not come tomorrow? This terrible thought dominates the mind of youth and its leaders. In such crucial times there seems to be no place left for leisurely refinement and culture for its own sake: the care-free days of liberalism are gone. This is the answer one receives if one speaks to fascists of academic freedom and the university ideals of happier days. There can be no doubt, however, that freedom of thought and independent research must some day be re-established in the universities of Europe. Only then can they continue their great mission of advancing the culture of the human race.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *Methods of Teaching at the University Level*

Broadly speaking, the older the pupils the worse the teaching. Teaching method is best developed at the infant stage and worst at the university level. It is no answer to this

to say that the older the learner the more he can do for himself and the less important the quality of the teaching. Good teaching at any stage makes a big difference. The best proof of this is the superiority of the university teaching done by those who happen to have enjoyed school experience, or have learned some of the arts of instruction in dealing with adult classes.

Methods in university teaching must obviously vary with the subjects taught. As a rule they are monotonously similar. The giving of lecture notes, and commentary on text-books are the staple methods. Lectures and comments can be quite good, and sometimes are. Under the guidance of a good lecturer the students come to distinguish the essentials of a subject, and to see it in proper proportions. But very often the lectures are dull and unoriginal, even when they are not repeated from year to year; and the students would be better employed at home reading a good text-book.

But good or bad, the lecture is educationally unsound as commonly given. It is based on the principle of authority, and presupposes that the immature student can learn best if the mature teacher puts before him the ordered knowledge of the subject as far as it has been developed. Actually the way of vital learning is just the opposite of this. It is from something that interests the learner and sets him enquiring and investigating that real thought begins: the completed scheme of the lecture presentation comes at a later stage to organise the partial knowledge that has been created out of special interests.

What is the practical application of this idea? Not, as is sometimes argued, that the lecture system should be abandoned. There is a virtue in good lectures not to be found in any text-book, provided the lecture comes as an answer to questions the student is asking for himself. What is wanted is a modification of the lecture system. The modification indicated by W.E.A. practice is to have every lecture followed by a well-ordered discussion in which all the students take

part. Experience shows that, if such a combination of lecture and discussion is followed by the students writing down their own views on the questions that have arisen out of the discussion, a very satisfactory achievement may be expected.

But even so, there is in this modified lecture system too much importance attached to the ideas of the teacher. The starting point is psychologically wrong. The thinking done depends more on what the teacher thinks than on what the learner thinks: and that, though necessary in some measure because of the tremendous extent of the knowledge to be acquired by the educated man, makes for too much reliance on the authority of teacher and accepted subject matter.

A better procedure is that which has had its origin in the pragmatic philosophy of John Dewey and finds its finest example in the teaching practice of Professor W. H. Kilpatrick. Here the discussion precedes the lecture. The class, divided into small discussion groups, starts its thinking with a number of suggested problems the answers to which are either to be found in the experience of the students themselves or sought out in the bibliography of the subject. The leaders of the discussion groups gather together the views of the members and the professorial lecture that follows attempts to bring together into some kind of conspectus the various opinions elicited in the course of the tutorial discussions. The result is that the students, having thought through the questions at issue for themselves, are helped by the summing-up lecture to a personal point of view which has value because it takes into account other points of view. Even if they have not found the whole truth, they have been engaged in the quest.

CHAPTER X

RURAL LIFE AND EDUCATION

DR. E. DE S. BRUNNER (U.S.A.): *Rural Trends the World Around*

IN this talk I propose to select certain trends that to some extent at least are common to a number of lands, and here and there to suggest certain implications for education. Perforce such a presentation involves a measure of superficiality—but this is a lecture, not a lecture course. Doubtless what values it may have will best accrue to you if you will constantly check what I have to say against your knowledge of conditions in your own country.

I shall limit the discussion to the present century, not because important trends did not begin before that time, but because it is the period which is closest to us and during which the tempo of change has been most rapid. It is a period which for the farmers of many nations has been marked successively by well-being, unusual prosperity, and economic disaster. It has witnessed abrupt shifts in export trade and the rapid development of co-operative marketing. It has experienced the shock of a world war and felt the drain of an unprecedented migration of rural people to the city. It has seen in many lands the passing of the hoe, the horse, and the mule, and the coming of the tractor, the combine,

and the automobile. It has had an amazing output of agrarian legislation dealing with land, credit, marketing, and even production. It has observed the growing intensity of the interplay of social and economic concerns and the reorganization of some types of rural communities and their social utilities, and it marks the dawning awareness of the interdependence of farm, village, city and nation. It is to some of these matters in their social aspects that we now turn our attention.

One of the more important of these is the urbanward drift of population which dates from the beginning of our modern industrial era, but which has become especially pronounced in the last half century. In terms of human experience, this has been a profound change. Until yesterday, ours was a rural world with family and social organization governed by the necessities and the *mores* of agriculture. In the days of my grandfather, the United States was almost 90 per cent rural; today more than half our people live in places of over 2,500 population, and 46 per cent in places of over 10,000. When the present era opened in Japan, about seventy years ago, she was 80 per cent rural; today her urban areas have the larger part of the nation's population. Most spectacular has been the shift in Australia. In her relatively brief history, this continent, dedicated originally to primary production, has reached the point where the strictly rural population is less than two-fifths of the total, the metropolitan almost 47 per cent. The drift is quite clear in the rural Balkan countries and in China, and it has begun in India, in much of South America, and elsewhere. It was, of course, first noticed in England a century or so ago.

This phenomenon is important from many points of view of which I can mention only a few. The farm family has a unity and cohesiveness that has never been equalled by the urban, as its sharply lower divorce rates show. The farm family is bound by a single interest—the co-operation of man

with animals and plants in the task of helping to answer the world's prayer for daily bread. It lives and moves and has its being at the seat of this enterprise: hence the dictum that agriculture is a way of life as well as a mode of making a living. The urban family is different. Its locale is a dormitory from which its members sally forth daily to their several pursuits and, often, their several recreations. Function after function the home used to perform is taken over by society on a commercial basis. The cohesion of a single, major, binding interest is missing. The tensions of crowding, of artificiality, of conflicting, competitive purposes weaken and undermine the soil-born stability of those who work with nature rather than with machines.

Poets like A.E. have joined the sociologists in telling us this, but we cannot follow the poet's solution and return to the days of old. The urban world must find solutions for its problems, the rural world must adjust to them. Educationally at least, this adjustment has been but poorly made. The rural school was charged, and with some justice, with training its children away from the soil and towards the city. So we in America began to teach vocational agriculture and tried to keep rural youth in rural areas. In India and some other countries 'agricultural bias' schools attempted to achieve a similar objective. Meanwhile migration cityward continued. And for the most part two groups of young people left—a somewhat disproportionate share of the best, thereby draining off potential leadership, and those who for lack of training or ability swelled the ranks of unskilled labour in the cities. The migration of those young people, reared and schooled in rural areas, represents a sizable social and economic contribution to the city, both direct and indirect, for which in few, if any, nations is an adequate return made.

It is important educationally and socially to take a new look at this situation. Migration is inevitable. The schools must allow for it. But agriculture is indispensable. Its values

must be stressed and re-phrased in terms of the present age; and the life of rural communities must be enriched by whatever agencies are at society's disposal, for a rural population of unlettered persons, or even one inferior to the urban in outlook, culture, and ability, is dangerous for any nation, especially any democracy. Such a danger is more acute in some lands, more remote in others, but school and society need constantly to appraise the trends of population movement and to act accordingly.

This is the more necessary because of the declining birth-rate. In the United States, as in much of western Europe, the cities are no longer producing enough children to maintain a stationary population. Rural areas have become the seed beds of these nations, and it is to the city's high interest to safeguard them. It is education's task to preserve that part of the rural heritage that should survive and help perpetuate it in city and country alike.

The whole complex trend of population movement towards urban centres raises a second and related matter. Recent years have seen a growing sense of the interdependence of country and city. In the past there has been much conflict between them. In my own country in the 1920's there were several important congressional votes on which party lines were completely obliterated, and the issue was decided on a straight rural versus urban alignment. In some lands there are agrarian parties, often important if the balance of power falls into their hands. The theory is that this conflict is inevitable. The city wants its food as cheaply as possible, the country naturally prefers the highest prices it can get.

But in the complex, delicately adjusted economic order in which we live, especially in the Western world, that philosophy, while persisting, is dangerously erroneous. When in my own land rural purchasing power was cut in half by the collapse of prices, the economic illness quickly spread to the city. At the peak of our unemployment, half of it was

attributable either directly or indirectly to the drying up of sales in rural areas. And when the government payments under our Agricultural Adjustment Act began to flow to rural communities, it was not long before freight car loadings from the industrial to the agrarian states increased almost 50 per cent, the total volume of goods exceeding many times the value of the bounty paid. I hope the lesson will not be forgotten. It has lately been shown that the rise of Hitler in Germany was made possible in large part because the Republic failed to understand this fact of rural-urban interdependence. The support of the farmer had been a highly significant force in the establishment of the Republic, but its indifference to the needs of agricultural Germany helped to bring its downfall.

In many countries much legislation, such as that dealing with credit, the control boards and price fixing in New Zealand, and with the rice purchase plan in Japan, indicates that this interdependence is being recognized. In feudal society the exploiting of the husbandman was perhaps not very serious, but in this machine age it is suicidal. For in practically every land the primary producers make up the largest single economic group. Minority though it be, the economic and the social well-being of this group is a factor of major importance in the economic and social health of the nation. The dawning recognition of this fact is one of the brighter spots on the horizon of our clouded era.

There is a corollary to this trend which I cannot forbear mentioning because of its sociological and practical importance, at least in the three countries in which it has been demonstrated —Denmark, Czechoslovakia, and the United States. I refer to the changing influences of the city as one proceeds outward from its centre. All nations that differentiate at all between rural and urban in their various censuses combine all rural or at least all farm data in one total. If, however, these data are

tabulated by concentric tiers of counties grouped around the city, interesting variations begin to appear.

It is obvious, of course, that fluid milk and perishable food crops such as vegetables must be produced near the major sources of consumption. But it has only recently been discovered that social phenomena vary similarly. For instance, in the United States the birth-rate rises with each tier of counties out from the city, and the decline in the birth-rate has been since 1910, and especially since 1920, inversely proportional to the distance from the urban county. The proportion of tenant-operated farms increases with distance. Land values during the War and immediately afterwards rose more rapidly in the further tiers than in those closer to the city, but in the deflation the land near cities suffered far less than that further away, and had a lower ratio of mortgage indebtedness to true value. In those states with considerable emphasis on a large measure of local control in education the expenditure per pupil was highest in the city county, sharply lower in tiers one and two, slightly higher in tier three, and almost as high in tiers four and beyond as in the city, but the depression losses were in reverse order. A study (as yet unpublished) shows that the votes in our national elections of 1932 and 1936 conform to a similar pattern, and from what several representative citizens in Australia and New Zealand have told me I am inclined to suspect you might discover the same thing. So far as I know, this rather new tier technique has not been applied 'down under.'

On the assumption that such services as education and social welfare should be somewhat differentiated in their approach to rural and urban populations, these facts suggest that within the rural areas there should be some adaptations among the tiers. We have come to believe in the United States that the failure of some state-wide programmes, put forth by well-meaning state and national agencies lies not so much in the oft complained of lack of local leadership, as in the failure

of the programmes to allow sufficiently for the sociological and economic differentiations that parallel the agricultural.

In view of these trends it is not surprising that in pioneer countries the automobile has begun to make possible a new organization of rural life, socially and economically, around the village and town. In pioneer countries the farm or ranch used to be all but self-sufficient. Sometimes there was a neighbourhood convenience centre for the purchase of a few necessities, but trips to the shopping and banking centre were relatively infrequent. Today that is changing. It is still perhaps the usual pattern in stock-raising areas, but even in wheat areas the farmer is tending to use the village and town centre more and more. In the United States the proportion of farmers in the membership of the churches in places from 2,500 to 10,000 population has gained five-fold since 1920. More than half the youths in the high schools in villages of less than 2,500 and nearly two-fifths of the members of social organizations, come from the farm. The more intensive the type of agriculture, the higher these proportions are likely to be.

This emerging type of village- or town-centred rural community is, of course, the usual form in the older nations such as Japan, China, and much of Europe. It is newer in the pioneer belts, but it is coming. It will make the conduct and organization of the educational and social services far less difficult than formerly. In our range states, comparable with much of Australia, high school service areas of 500 to 1,200 square miles are quite common. In some places where dormitories have been established, they are even larger. This makes for larger student bodies, larger faculties and enriched curricula. It also makes possible an increasing number of commercial and social services and the beginning of industries which offer employment to youth. In the Orient such industries are sometimes conducted on a subsidiary basis, operating when the farm work is slack. Even in the British Isles and America this latter possibility is attracting attention.

Many theorists foretold quite a different fate for these smaller centres of population: they were soon to become as deserted as Goldsmith's village. If I read your statistics correctly, your trend, like that in America, is beginning to be quite the contrary. In the United States the population in these service station villages and towns, as we call them, is gaining somewhat more rapidly than that in the nation as a whole. The number of commercial services and outlets has more than doubled since 1910 and the gain was never more rapid than during the recent depression.

It is this fact which accounts for the final trend that I desire to mention. The interests and thoughts of rural men and women have broadened with the process of the years. In a period when bread itself became a prime necessity for millions, the conviction deepened that man lives not by bread alone. Increasingly, rural people have sought to understand, perchance to utilize, the forces that baffled them. They have recognized the end of their isolation, the inevitableness of interaction among all groups. Increasingly, too, they have sought outlets for expression in drama, in community service, in recreation. Often *in this they have blindly followed urban pathways*, even to the bridge table. But frequently and encouragingly they have given a cultural turn to activities in terms authentically expressive of rural life.

True, there are backward communities as there are retarded individuals. True, too, there are conservative, unimaginative, even defeatist localities and persons; and there are those whose every nerve, to the point of exhaustion, must still be strained to meet the problems of survival and subsistence. But study of the record of social life and the story of the progress of adult education against the background of economic stress and suffering of the 1930's leads to the conclusion that rural people are on the move towards a better, more wholesome and more functional social life, and warrants the high hope

that the impetus already developed may be powerful enough to achieve and hold that good.

I have, of course, had no opportunity to discover whether this summary applies to your nation as it does to mine and certain others. In the United States, our volunteer social organizations have, of course, sociability as their major objective, but their activities have expanded and deepened. Educational programmes, self-conducted inquiries into the social and economic phenomena of our times, heightening interest in music, drama, and art, are all marked. The programme of our Agricultural Extension service has expanded and become more socialized. There is increasing emphasis on planning for community life. There has been earnest exploration of local resources, material and human. There has been a determined effort, often in co-operation with our work-relief organization, to improve the facilities of community life in terms of parks, play-grounds, swimming pools and community houses.

But this has been by no means confined to the United States. Early in the depression, Japan sought to make use especially of those who left the city for the villages, to broaden and intensify the social programme through their young men's and young women's associations and their agricultural societies. As always in a crisis in Japan, the programme turned back into the rich cultural life of the nation, though it was coupled, of course, with teachings on other matters desired by the Government.

The social progress in the rural areas of Russia, and the amazing response of the peasants to it, are too well known to require more than mention. But such work has gone on in democracies as well. Some of the South American countries have met with equal response. Community programmes and the general enrichment of community life have been prominent in the educational policies of several, notably the

Colombian Republic where appropriations for education have increased six-fold in a decade.

The educational aspects of all this work to which I have alluded seem clear, and, significantly enough, they touch adults to a considerable degree. They will doubtless make the adult more appreciative of the school and its functions, but they will also tend to make him expect more of the school and its teaching force.

A look around the rural world, then, discloses much of interest. The times have been out of joint, but not all the changes have been losses, and over and above trends in organization, in social and economic life, the rural peoples seem to be taking a place of new importance in a society that is becoming increasingly interdependent. The problems created by these changes are many, and are as yet unsolved. The race too often adapts to changes after they occur rather than plans to influence them as they develop. But just as the machine age changed the England of the eighteenth century, so the forces of today, at heightened tempo, are altering under our eyes patterns long familiar. It is the task of educators to watch the more important trends and to be ready to see the implications they hold for the service it is theirs to render to the citizens of tomorrow.

DR. E. DE S. BRUNNER (U.S.A.): *Cultural Agencies in American Rural Life*

New Zealanders, I am sure, will recognize the difficulty of the topic assigned. For my country, like yours, is diversified. What is true in the South is by no means necessarily true in New England or the Pacific Northwest, even in terms of the pattern of cultural agencies.

I propose, therefore, to discuss some trends that seem to be appearing under certain national influences, and beyond that I shall give major attention to what we sometimes call our Great Plains, an area that in its economic base—wheat and live stock—and in its population density, more closely resembles many of your rural areas than does anything else in the United States.

In these days of interdependence and of rapid communication, no cultural agency is uninfluenced by the cultural forces of the region and the nation. But, with these qualifications, our local agencies fall into three loose categories: (a) those supervised or, better, guided from without, but based on local groups and responsible local leadership; (b) those largely indigenous with only more or less tenuous connections with any recognized source of suggestion or leadership; and (c) those forces, rather than agencies, entirely extraneous to the local community.

Before I proceed to describe and illustrate these types, it may be useful to attempt a picture of the structure and social organization of the American rural community—although I must ask you to remember the qualification with which I began.

The automobile and better roads produced a rapid change in structure. Today rural America is largely and increasingly village- or town-centred. In these centres the farmers buy most of their supplies and goods, trade, bank, ship their goods, and, to an ever-increasing degree, worship, educate their children and form social ties of an organizational nature. Thus in the Great Plains about one-half of the village church members, more than half the village high school enrolment and about two-fifths of the membership of social organizations, come from farm or ranch homes.

The area from which these villages and towns so draw is reasonably large. In the cattle and dry farming country communities of 500 to 800 square miles are not at all

exceptional, though the national average is not much above 110 square miles. These central or primary service stations, as they are sometimes called, vary in population from a minimum of 600 to 700 to a maximum of 10,000. Smaller places are likely to become mere neighbourhood convenience centres. The usual place, however, has from 1,000 to 3,000 people in the centre and about one and a quarter times as many persons in its service area as in the town.

We find in each of these communities a bewildering variety of social organizations. They average about twenty, excluding the schools, the churches, and the subsidiary organizations of each. In the Great Plains the number is slightly above this average. In addition, there are, on the average, five and a half churches in each village and three and three-quarters in the open country area of each community. The Great Plains and Pacific Coast have only about one open country church to a community. In addition to the village school system, there are about nine and a half open country schools, almost all small one- and two-teacher affairs. The number of open country schools and churches is steadily declining.

The twenty social organizations are of about fourteen types. They range from small bridge clubs, which are almost exclusively village in their membership, to large civic, political or farmer organizations. Few communities have every type represented. The large number of social and religious organizations finds its explanation not merely in the American tendency to formalize group interests by organization, but also in sociological factors. Negroes and foreign-speaking or foreign-stock groups frequently have their own churches and organizations. Denominational and organizational lines are often drawn not so much in terms of ideology as in terms of economic status. Thus farm tenants are likely to join the Farmers' Union, farm owners the Farm Bureau. Farm labourers and unskilled workers in the villages tend towards

the more emotional sects, while farm owners and the professional workers tend rather to the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, or similar bodies.

This, then, is the type of community and the social setting in which the cultural agencies of rural America work. First among these agencies is the so-called Agricultural Extension service (which includes extension work in home economics), supported jointly by federal, state and county governments. You have a similar service. With us it operates in conjunction with the state colleges of agriculture through so-called agents in each county. Behind these agents are many so-called subject-matter specialists stationed at the agricultural college, who develop materials, lead conferences and are available to local groups. The original purpose of this service was purely vocational. In the last dozen years, however, and increasingly through the depression, the service has discovered 'the human side of agriculture' and become a great cultural force. The programme in this phase of the work has two main sides, the cultural arts and the discussion of public affairs. I shall discuss this work in detail at another meeting.

Only in New England has this service been made available to village and town dwellers. Elsewhere these centres must rely on the public schools. The contributions of the public schools to the cultural life of the community have been made largely, though not exclusively, through adult education activities. Like that of the Agricultural Extension service, the adult education conducted by the public schools was in its inception purely vocational, and in rural America confined almost solely to agriculture and domestic science. About one-third of the village and town high schools now have adult education in the local tax budget, especially in states that aid their schools. About two-fifths of the courses are now non-vocational and include physical education and recreation, music, public forums, with occasional classes in art, social science, literature, and foreign languages. The curriculum in

one Middle Western village included Spanish, type-writing, drama, story-writing, interior decoration, tap dancing, orchestral music, and current events.

Some schools, especially in smaller villages, have been quite ingenious in utilizing other agencies to assist in their adult education activities. One enlisted members of the staff of a near-by municipal university to give courses in world problems and public speaking, called upon the Red Cross for courses in home-nursing and first aid, and used its own staff for the vocational subjects. In another village with a population of just over 1,000, through the help of the joint extension department of the state college, well-attended courses were started in sociology, psychology, education and economics. These carried college credit if students desired to have it. The enrolments ranged from 12 to 15. That villagers would respond to more work along this line is demonstrated by the results of what we call our emergency adult education programme, which has been tried in about three-fifths of our rural communities and has been quite successful in one-third of them. Again vocational subjects lead, but one school in eight has work in social science; and classes in drama, music, art and literature are also found, though less frequently.

The best illustration of the success of the emergency adult education programme in these centres comes from a Middle Western village where, until spring planting interfered, 1,500 persons were enrolled in 24 classes. The subjects included government, grammar, elementary and advanced type-writing, book-keeping, play-production, art, business training, parliamentary law, orchestral music, Spanish, German, chemistry, mechanical drawing, commercial arithmetic, manual training, shorthand, home economics, agriculture, choral singing, and Bible study.

A third cultural agency operating in rural America is the library. About one county in twelve has a county-wide tax-supported service with libraries in the villages and towns and

local stations in schools, post offices, stores, garages, homes or farmers' co-operatives in all the neighbourhoods or crossroad centres. These are served by automobile and can call upon the resources of the state library. Local libraries are found in perhaps half of the communities of the type I have described. Five-sixths of these have tax support but even so they are small affairs, having on the average collections of slightly less than 5,000 volumes. In many states the state library commissions send out travelling libraries of from 50 to 200 books which are retained by the community for three months. In some places schools open their libraries at hours when they are not needed by the pupils. Circulation has been steadily increasing, as have the number of borrowers, despite the patent inadequacy of the libraries. Indeed, circulation per borrower has increased 70 per cent (9.5 to 16.3 volumes a year) since 1930.

In other places the school library is also the depository for state travelling libraries. Only 1 in 10, therefore, of our rural communities is without any library facilities. In this respect, the two Western regions made the best record, all but one of the Far Western villages and two-thirds of those of the Middle West having public libraries. Though this was true in only one-sixth of the Southern communities, all but 3 of the 30 in this region had some facilities.

This discussion is concerned only with the regular, organized, independent libraries. In passing, it may be noted, however, that some of the makeshift arrangements just referred to unquestionably met a real need with some success. For instance, in a Far Western community with a population of 2,300, there was no library except the 2,800 volumes in the school, which were available to the public at certain out-of-school hours. Yet the circulation in the year 1935-36 was 40,000. Out of such situations may eventually grow a demand for a better service, especially if the demand is stimulated by state leadership.

This topic should not be left without indicating that here, too, Agricultural Extension helps somewhat. Its greatest contribution is in the actual publication of bulletins and the so-called simpler circulars. The circulation of these titles is very large: in only a few states it is below 100,000 a year, and in several it exceeds 1,000,000. In a majority of states it exceeds 500,000 annually.

The average Texas farm and village home requests a pamphlet every three weeks. In New York a request comes from every rural home about six times a month. It should be recalled that in more than two-thirds of the states publications are sent out, with a few small exceptions, only on request, so that the recipient has spent at least one cent for a postal card and the time involved in writing.

The fluctuations in distribution are interesting. In most states the circulation turned downwards in either 1931 or 1932, and began to increase, often sharply, during 1933 or 1934. The 1935 distribution in Kansas for instance, was more than three times the 1933 total. In New York and Missouri the 1935 circulation showed a 25 per cent gain over the 1934, and in Texas more than a 50 per cent. These fluctuations reflect both reduced publishing in the first years of the depression for economy reasons and heightened interest in many subjects later on.

Distribution is in part related to the number of titles issued. These range from six to more than a hundred, with an average of twenty-seven per state. It should be remembered that the range of subjects is equally diverse. The circulars cover every phase of the work of the Extension service—publications on interior decoration, child development, and remedies for hog cholera may go to the same family in the same week.

We turn now to those indigenous organizations that operate with little or no suggestion from outside the local community. These are, of course, among the twenty organizations already noted. Some of them, like the parent-

teacher associations and other educational groups, women's clubs, civic, musical, dramatic and socio-economic groups, have programmes that are to a considerable extent concerned with educational and cultural values. Lectures and study groups are frequent activities. Much of the work, however, must be classed as opportunist; it changes with the interests of leaders or of small directing groups. Its significance lies, however, in the changes it has undergone over the years. My field-workers report that programmes are better than at any previous time in the fifteen years we have been studying samples of this type of community. The study and lecture topics are more specific than they formerly were, more concerned with basic problems, less with ephemeral things. Speakers are of a higher calibre and have responded to the increased seriousness of the people. The quality of music attempted has similarly improved and the drama work is far less likely to be of the farce variety. A number of plays, for instance, have come to grips with the farm problem.

If you visited one of these communities for the first time you would doubtless describe the cultural contribution of these local agencies as mediocre. But if you visited these communities for the third consecutive time, as my field-workers and I were doing just a year ago, and were able to view their activities against what they were when you first knew them, even though your verdict might be the same, your forecast of their future course would be optimistic rather than the reverse. Moreover, the important thing about these agencies is that they are indigenous. They reflect local ideas and ideals. They are officered by local leaders. They make their own way or they fail. No outside force, leadership or subvention saves them. When, then, it can be reported that these local groups show a higher level of achievement and culture, it is a fact of social significance for a democracy.

DR. E. DE S. BRUNNER (U.S.A.): *Agricultural Extension Education*

In the realm of adult education the system that has become known in the United States as Agricultural Extension is perhaps unique. Since its inception more than a quarter of a century ago, somewhat similar agencies have been set up in a number of other countries including some of those within the British Commonwealth of Nations, Japan, Korea, and very recently, China. I am asking the liberty of dealing with this subject largely in terms of the United States.

In its form the Agricultural Extension service of the United States has varied little during its history, save in size. In its programme, however, it exhibits a development that has been influenced greatly by several crises which have resulted in marked deviations from the normal institutional type of growth. The service sprang from very small beginnings, related to the farmer institute movement of the three decades prior to the World War. But these small beginnings attracted the attention of one of the great seers of adult education in America, Seaman Knap. A brief, but successful, experiment under foundation grants resulted in the nationalization of the service.

In brief, the organization is as follows. In every state college of agriculture there is a director of Extension. In each county, excluding urban counties, there is a so-called agricultural agent. Associated with him in about three-fifths of the counties is a home demonstration agent. In about half the counties there is also a so-called club agent, dealing with organizations of rural youth. Servicing these local representatives there are at the state colleges from half a score to two score specialists, each charged with developing subject matter in a specific field, such as plant pathology, soil chemistry and entomology. Much of the material they

use is derived from the scientific research staff attached to what is called the experiment station of the agricultural college. There are also state 'leaders' for each type of the employed personnel. The federal department is set up very much along the same lines as the state organizations. It is advisory in nature, co-ordinates the work to some extent and administers the grants-in-aid from the federal treasury. It also holds conferences and is associated with the states in the training of the personnel, practically all of whom are to begin with graduates of colleges of agriculture and an appreciable minority of whom have done post-graduate work. The whole system is co-operative; the costs are borne in equal proportions by the federal and state governments and the local county.

There are today some 8,000 professional employees in the service and the total cost is approximately £20,000,000, or about £3 a year for each farm family. But with over 3,000 counties in the United States even a staff and a budget of this size would go little distance in reaching our nearly seven million farm families, but for an extremely interesting additional link—the local volunteer leader.

Each local community or neighbourhood which embarks on some project under the Extension service selects such a leader who organizes the group, and through him the agent or specialist works. These leaders are given training at conferences often lasting from two to four days and are supplied with necessary material of various sorts. On the average, each leader contributes, without any compensation even for expenses, about eighteen days a year to this work. There are about half a million leaders and the number has been growing each year. It is now well over twice the number in 1925. This means that, among the whites, about one farm family in every eight supplies one such leader. Among the negroes the ratio is perhaps twice as large. Without these local leaders Agricultural Extension could never have achieved what

it has. They not only represent it in intimate face-to-face contacts, but also become demonstrators of its teaching. In this device, and in the training programmes that make it effective, Agricultural Extension has, perhaps, made one of its largest contributions to the techniques of adult education.

So much for the organization. What of the programme? Agricultural Extension began as an effort to improve the lot of the American farmer. Its first great development was in our South where the standard of living is lower than elsewhere. Its slogan was 'to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before.' In short, in the United States, Agricultural Extension was born of a great vision and a great need. For the farmers' and the nation's good, it was dedicated to increasing the production of food and fibre—that is, wealth. It was given to humanising the knowledge of scientific agriculture and making it available to the furthest farm. Hardly was it born than it faced the emergency of the World War. While unshipped grain rotted on the docks of Australia, our farmers, under the leadership of Agricultural Extension, responded to the slogan, 'Food will win the war.' Grain exports to Europe tripled. Tens of millions of acres, much of which should have remained in grass, were cultivated. We are paying the price of that now. The point is that the war demands fitted very well into the initial objectives of Agricultural Extension. In less than a decade this service could show a huge achievement, measured in terms of those objectives.

Institutional patterns tend quickly to perpetuate themselves. Conditions changed in rural America with startling rapidity. Wheat dropped 75 per cent in price in a few months in 1921, but Agricultural Extension continued with its programme. The American farmer continued to produce for customers who had turned to former, or nearer, sources of supply. If the men who knew how to teach farmers to grow two blades of grass where one grew before had been as well

trained in economics as in agriculture, the economic history of American agriculture from 1921 to 1932 might have been very different. But the men who saw what was coming were few in 1920-21, and their gospel was strange indeed viewed in the light of the momentum and the achievement of the war years.

Two things saved Agricultural Extension as an educational agency from the institutional death that overtakes organizations failing to adapt themselves to the changing needs of their constituencies. One was the criticism of outside leaders. More important was the criticism, the suggestion, the demand of the constituency, voiced by these local leaders. 'Times have changed,' they said. 'You served us well once. We need new types of service now. Unless you can meet these new needs we will cease voting county taxes for your support.' And in scores of counties cease they did.

The Extension service began to shift its emphasis. It taught co-operative marketing; it began to explore the causes of the agricultural depression, the effect of taxes, of land values, of tariffs, of credit policies and the like; and from causes it turned to remedies. Progress along these lines varied among the states. Nor, of course, was all the programme abandoned. Plant and animal diseases, household efficiency and economy and the like were still subjects of importance. Thus it was that when the present administration launched its agricultural programme it turned naturally to this service to teach the farmers what was involved.

The usual activities suffered, at least from the point of view of the time-investment of the agricultural agents. There were those who viewed this with alarm, while others believed that the emphasis of the service must change permanently. These attitudes still persist, and the issue is not yet settled. It is, however, important to record this real modification in the Extension service programme, and to note that it is continuing, as the new soil conservation programme, substituted

for the old Agricultural Adjustment Act, gets under way. The modification is evident, too, in other aspects of the programme, as will be indicated. Moreover, if Extension is to continue in its present direction, the implications for the training of the professional staff are considerable. Training in the skills of agriculture and home economics alone will not suffice. Economics will have to be called upon, as will the sociology of group formation and rural organization. Methods of securing group consensus will have to be used, as well as indoctrination of specific skills or methods.

But to us as educators and civil servants, some of the newer activities of Agricultural Extension dealing with the human side of agriculture are the most interesting. One of these was the effort to bring the farmers of a county together to look at their agricultural enterprise in the light of the changed local, state, national, and world conditions, and to plan for the future. In the winter of 1935-36, planning conferences were held in over 2,000 counties. This effort to challenge existing procedures, to develop the agricultural enterprise on the basis of facts and constantly changing conditions, may have wide significance in the future. Interestingly enough, the criterion for such planning is the use of land in such a way as to win a better standard of living, including both material and non-material elements.

Changing conditions not only affect farm management, but also raise issues of national importance which in a democracy must be understood by the citizens. Opinions on such issues are often formed from insufficient evidence or are swayed by propaganda. In some states, therefore, the Extension service organized discussion groups which considered public affairs, using materials that stated all viewpoints on a given issue. The plan began experimentally in the winter of 1933-34 in ten states, and was greatly expanded the following year. The material used varied widely. A few states issued pamphlets, one on each major topic

discussed. Others contented themselves with mimeographed suggestions. One farmer interviewed by a field-worker about this programme expressed the opinion of many when he said, 'We sure learned a heap about what makes markets and prices.'

The depression stimulated two other lines of development, both of which had been begun before 1930. One of these relates to the whole field of family welfare, including especially child development and parent education. The other embraces the entire range of leisure-time activities.

Because of the depression and a developing philosophy of adult education, much of the work in clothing, nutrition, health, home furnishing, and similar phases of home demonstration became less merely technical and more and more socialized. In several states the emphasis was placed on appreciation of beauty in the home and the utilization of materials at hand. It is impossible to do more than illustrate this trend. Thousands of families in the aggregate renovated furniture, re-seated chairs, re-hung pictures, and re-finished floors and walls. Home bureau clubs made tours to museums and to attractively furnished homes. Art exhibits were arranged and circulated among the groups. In one state 2,000 persons were enrolled in a project concerned with home flower gardens and so-called outdoor living rooms.

Nutrition workers grappled with the problem of adequate diet in the face of declining income, and this activity quickly expanded beyond the home and into the school.

For instance, in one state 249 home bureau clubs supplied hot dishes or whole lunches daily to more than 6,500 children in 344 rural schools. In addition, 412 Home Economics Extension clubs assisted in improving the standard of nutrition in communities from which W.P.A. nurses had reported some thousands of cases of malnutrition among children. These instances are simply illustrations of a wide variety of activities stimulated by Home Economics Extension

and carried through by the local groups under their own leadership. One interesting development growing out of all this has been greatly increased attention to the knotty problem of consumption and consumer education.

It is a short step from such projects to the whole field of child development and parent education, and Extension has taken that step. There is now a specialist in this field on the national staff, and twenty-one states have also employed state specialists. The programmes are varied, and reflect somewhat the interests of the state specialists in charge, the needs of the local co-operating groups, and the age of the activity.

Child guidance and parent education have been growing interests in educational circles for twenty-five years; but the development has been largely urban and professional. It made little progress in rural America. Parent-teacher associations in rural schools had possibilities in this direction, but turned out far more often than not to be little more than auxiliaries for the schools. Moreover, they had a high mortality rate. Their life depended upon, and their programme reflected, the interest of the school superintendent. Then Home Economics Extension entered the field. It possessed the machinery to reach local groups and the technique for developing volunteer leadership. It knew that professional leadership in parent education, even on a county basis, was an ideal impossible of achievement in any predictable future. It followed the tested procedures in developing interest in child guidance and within the limits of its resources its accomplishments are very great.

But perhaps the greatest development has taken place in the field of leisure-time activities, especially those of drama, music, art, reading and recreation. This type of work also ante-dated the 1930's, but has developed surprisingly, especially in the present decade. Of the 40 states responding to a questionnaire, 32 had well-defined programmes in general

recreation, and the other 8 were all doing 'a little.' Drama was part of the programme in 26, music in 20, arts and crafts in 12, reading in 8, training in speech in 2, and folk-dancing in one. In 3 other states nothing is being done along these lines, because such activities are cared for either by the state universities or by the state board of education.

Twenty-four states hold state-wide or district institutes or schools for the local volunteer recreation leaders. A few put on such schools or courses at the annual Farmers' Week, which is a feature of the programme of every state college of agriculture. In Illinois, for instance, 300 attended a course, and in addition 339 communities were represented at district recreational conferences held by the Extension rural sociologist at strategic centres in each region of the state.

An Extension rural sociologist in an Eastern state writes:

'In the field of recreation, stimulation does not seem to be necessary. Our entire efforts are going into the field of local leadership training and making programme materials available to local leaders. The demand for social recreation arose very rapidly during the depression, and so far is holding its own very well. Many people have found the joy of creating their own recreation. There is a great deal of interest in the old traditional games, especially singing, folk-games and square dances.'

This quotation sums up the testimony of a large majority of the directors of Extension. Two-thirds report increasing requests for assistance along recreational and cultural lines. A number say this increase is 'tremendous,' or 'beyond the power of our present staff to handle.' But meanwhile these staffs continue to hold the training institutes, and to speed out a steady stream of monthly programme suggestions, materials, and helps to local groups, as well as some bulletins.

Most interesting, perhaps, of recent developments has been the great interest in drama. The training of local leaders has proceeded in the same way as with recreation. Literally

thousands of rural groups have participated. Many of the colleges of agriculture maintain loan libraries of plays to assist groups in their selections. In one Middle Western state alone 4,040 plays were loaned to such groups in 1935. But many of the plays are original (often the work of farmers' wives) and use local materials. Some of these are of very good quality. Some states are stimulating the development of the drama by holding play-writing contests, and these report that the quality of the manuscripts submitted improves every year.

In the best organized states, the local groups put on county drama festivals, and the best companies, or those with the most significant plays, are selected from the entire state to appear at the state college during Farmers' Week.

The annual reports of the Extension directors or Extension rural sociologists present a vivid picture of the strength of the movement. In one small New England state, there are drama groups in 100 communities. In Tennessee, rural men and women came from all over the state to five regional drama leadership training schools (each of which lasted four days) and returned home to assist local community leaders in their counties. In Iowa and Wisconsin, where the work is longer-established than in some states, there are hundreds of groups, and the number has been growing each year. Despite the high density of population in Massachusetts, and its numerous large towns and cities with all their facilities for commercial recreation, drama work in rural parts of the state has been very popular. Training meetings are held which cover, as do most such efforts elsewhere, play selection, organization for production, directing, acting, staging and lighting, costuming and make-up. Plays are discussed, and a demonstration cast acts as a laboratory group. This, indeed, is the usual set-up in the drama training work, though some states add assistance in speech and other related topics.

In the other cultural activities of the Extension service, the set-up is much the same as that for the drama. This is true in reference to organization, leadership training, and county or regional festivals or demonstrations, as well as to local orchestras, bands, choruses, glee clubs, opera groups, and the like at state college Farm Weeks, or at state fairs, or on radio programmes. These enterprises are being carried on in twenty states, and are, therefore, second only to drama in their popularity. The Extension service assists not only in training but also in organizing such groups when requested.

The programme is not limited to participation alone. Some states have a definite programme in music appreciation, and use phonograph records which are loaned, explanatory notes, lectures, and demonstrations on the air. In South Dakota, there was a study course in music appreciation in which 16,000 farm and village women enrolled. Every home demonstration club in the state was represented. Twelve states are engaged in a wide variety of art projects; and this work, in most states, is closely co-ordinated with the other phases of the Extension programme. Beauty in colour, line, and design is demonstrated and developed in home and community life, in clothing, and in the beautification of houses, grounds, and parks. Art appreciation has been encouraged through demonstrations, by loaning prints of old or new works, by holding exhibits of original productions, by arranging for groups to visit museums or galleries where available, and by issuing simple suggestions for the hanging of pictures in the home.

Unfortunately, art activities and the drama have been combined only now and then. Where they have been, the art programme has been worked out in connection with stage settings and costumes for rural drama groups, and pageants depicting local history or life in the lands from which the original settlers of the different communities came. It may be said here that in the states possessing an art

programme, there has been, to some extent at least, a development of crafts. The making of hooked rugs, block printing, wood carving, quilting, metal work, and similar activities attract their different groups. Some of these projects have been developed to the point where they have commercial value.

The cultural value of the Extension service is well brought out in the following quotation from the introduction to a forthcoming study of this subject by Marjorie Patten:

'It is a story of the rise of a host of homespun leisure-time activities among farm people during the troubled years since the World War. These activities are deeply rooted in the soil and already form an important part of the agricultural programme sponsored by federal and state authorities to improve conditions in rural communities. Over wide areas farmers are interested now in corn and hogs and opera, in cheese and cream and drama, in wheat and cattle and folk-dancing. . . .

'An Extension Service Bulletin issued by the Ohio State Agricultural College carries this quotation from Edman: "Leisure is an affair of mood and atmosphere rather than simply of the clock. It is not a chronological occurrence, but a spiritual state. It is unhurried, pleasurable living among one's native enthusiasms."

'Among the cultural activities in which farm folk were found to be engaged in the communities studied by the author of this volume were plays, festivals, operas, choruses, bands, orchestras, folk-dancing and folk-music, choric speech, puppets, marionettes, hobby shows, art exhibits, play-writing, crafts, radio hours of music, drama, and art appreciation. They bear witness to the fact that farm people have taken as their own something of the Edman philosophy in their endeavour to see that culture remains in agriculture. They have demanded it in spite of, and in many cases because of, depression conditions

'We are accustomed to hearing the voices of the Little Theatre in cities and larger towns; vacationing America has long been entertained in an excellent fashion by the professional and semi-professional groups of actors, dancers, and musicians who move from cities to summer resorts annually. We are not so accustomed to the new voices now making themselves heard from the plains, the prairies, and the mining communities, and from little places back in the mountains. They are coming up from the tall corn, from the wheat fields, the sugar-beet fields—yes, and out of the dust bowl.

'They have nothing in them of the commercial. They are the voices of men and women who have struggled through drought, thaw, drifts, impassable roads, dust, and hail storms; who have fought grasshoppers, cinch bugs, and rust.

'When one has listened to a seven-hundred-voice chorus of farm folk in Iowa singing Cadman's *Marching through the Clouds with God*, when one has found literally hundreds of one-act plays being produced in isolated little communities in Wisconsin in spite of twenty-two-foot drifts and temperatures down to forty below zero, when one has danced the Cserebogar in a cold little Grange hall far from any centre, but to which over two hundred farmers had travelled miles to a Farm Bureau meeting which included music and folk-dancing as a matter of course, one becomes vitally aware that there is something new under the American sun, a programme full of romance, adventure and challenge, something new but of the same spirit as that which marked the old pioneer days.

'Whenever one has had the opportunity to witness this far-flung programme, one finds that it is events like these that are propping up, strengthening and enriching the economic side of life in the region.

'Whole counties, districts, states, and regions have been revitalized because of the new developing enthusiasm for home-grown entertainment. It is their own vivid way of interpreting the idea as old as Aristotle: "The whole end and objective of education is training for the right use of leisure time."

Perhaps this is sufficient to give a glimpse of the activities of this agency. I have stressed the more recent and the more socialized activities because the demand for these has come from the local people and because the chief advances in this direction have been made during the worst years of the depression. It is possible that other agencies could do such a job in other countries, but the significant thing, educationally and sociologically speaking, is the demand of the farm folk for these services.

Some of my friends in the United States are wont to debate whether or not education can produce social change. I'm a bit weary of the discussion. It may be quite debatable in terms of the elementary school, perhaps the high school, but there can be no debate in terms of rural adult education. Agricultural Extension has answered that question. Your patiently compiled statistics of changed practices combine into an aggregate of unmeasured power. Take any index of agricultural efficiency you choose and compare 1914 or 1915 with 1930. International Harvester's salesmen may have had some influence but who can question that *the* factor in that advance was Agricultural Extension? Compare the nearly three-fold increase in the number of co-operatives, their membership, their volume of business between 1915 and 1935. Did that happen by chance? Again, there were several influences at work, but none more potent in strengthening the movement than Agricultural Extension agents and staff.

A few years ago we were studying changes in rural communities the nation over. We asked every person we interviewed, for whatever purpose, what had been happening

in his community. Time and time again the people of thirty years and over would say, 'Well, we can't tell a farmer's girl or wife from a townswoman on the street any more.' Perhaps the patterns in the *Women's World*, *The Farmer's Wife* and other magazines helped, but every place from which my field-workers got that comment was in a county that had a home demonstration agent.

Now, a final word as to the direction Agricultural Extension is likely to take. It has problems to meet of course, the problems that you would expect in any huge organization. There is the temptation to yield to routine, to red tape, to just keep the wheels going around. There is the temptation, just because of success, to attempt too much, to be opportunist. But when directors of Extension begin to appraise each project, no matter how technical, in the light of its social and economic results, as some of the leaders are doing, and when one listens to the searching discussions at the professional conferences and observes the trend toward post-graduate work on the part of the whole service, one has confidence in the future. That future seems to hold the slow extension of the programme in the arts and home economics into the villages, the planning of programmes on the basis of knowledge of the community and its needs, and the provision of better service to the poorer and smaller farmers.

In summary, then, Agricultural Extension faces on every side new opportunities and new demands. No longer is it simply concerned with production, marketing, cooking, dress-making. It enters the home through the new interest in parent education. It is concerned with health. World problems have been brought to our doors through the world depression and we face and discuss them and plan what to do. The end of that planning is the good life for all. Extension has discovered the human side of agriculture, the agriculture that is life as well as livelihood, and in a new cultural programme is trying to contribute to that life. It

sees now not only the farm but the community and its inter-relationships with city and nation. Behind it is a record of substantial, enviable achievement, of accomplished economic change in farm management. In its hands are the power and the opportunity to remake American rural life on higher cultural and economic levels than have yet been attained.

DR. E. DE S. BRUNNER (U.S.A.): *The School and the Rural Community*

Throughout much of the world at the present time there seems to be an increasing interest in an integration of the school and its community, a trend the sociologist views with both enthusiasm and concern—enthusiasm because whatever else it may be the school is also a social institution, operating in, and in some measure dependent upon, a given community and subject to the laws of social institutions; concern because enthusiasm for the idea has sometimes run ahead of adequate understanding of the concept of community.

Let us begin, therefore, by attempting to define the rural community. There are those who insist upon a psychological definition. They aver that if a student from a Chinese village attends Oxford, the community of that village has been expanded to include the influence of this University, conveyed to it by this student. I do not deny the possibility of such an influence, but what we are after today is a working definition, one of use to the authorities of a given rural school which draws its pupils from the families of a given and determinable area. It is just at this point that, in the United States at least, troubles begin.

After some years of research the rural community has come to be regarded as village- or town-centred and as embracing the people of an area within which more than half the open country population turn to the centre for more than half the services they need. In closely settled areas we find some overlap between adjacent communities; but as a rule when one passes the 50 per cent line, the influence of one centre falls off rapidly and that of the next begins. This is even more true of the social than of the economic services.

It should be added that there are some countries, and localities within others, where the problem I am discussing does not exist, but this is rarely so in new, pioneer lands. In Japan and much of the Orient and Europe, for instance, the farmers are village dwellers. They leave their homes in the mornings and walk out to their fields. At night they return to them and, the evening meal finished, the men of the village gather around its headman and elders under a tree, by the village gate, or in the square, and converse about affairs of common interest. It is upon occasion a natural and quickly convened community council. There is no problem here of community areas. A community is made up of people and in this situation all the people are villagers.

It may interest you to know that in the United States (and I believe this would be found to hold in Canada also) there is a twenty-five-fold variation in the area of our communities among the different regions and crop areas, but a maximum variation of only about 33 per cent in the open country population. In other words it takes about so many people, regardless of the density of settlement, to sustain the functions of a modern village- or town-centred rural community.

I am sure you begin to see the importance of a careful determination of community boundaries. Here, for instance, is a locality that decides to become a consolidated school district. But the area is laid out by guess, or on the

horse-and-buggy scale. The automobile begins to enlarge the area of daily contact, agriculture is mechanised, farms grow larger, population smaller. Soon there is not enough population to support or justify a consolidated, twelve standard school. Or take the reverse of this case. Here is an area in which the many rural schools, mostly one- and two-teacher buildings, have each developed a considerable social life under parent-teacher association auspices. Enthusiasm for consolidation develops and a huge area is incorporated into a consolidated district, centred in a village of 1,800 population. The area far transcends the service areas of the social and economic agencies of the village. Those living within the new district, but outside the other service areas, have to adjust to a new centre which they know but slightly. There is a clash in habits, perhaps in loyalties. The little school buildings are closed, removed or sold. The village parent-teacher association tries feebly to enlist the interest of these outlying neighbourhoods but there is no community of feeling and it fails. Criticism of the long bus trip develops. Gradually there is a cleavage between the group within the villages and the area normally a part of its community on the one hand, and those outside the community but within the school service area on the other. This reflects itself within the student body as well. Conflict, especially in extra-curricular activities, develops. Meanwhile an accustomed social asset has been removed from the outlying neighbourhoods with the closing up of their parent-teacher associations and their places of meeting.

Both of these are actual cases from the United States. In the first, a neighbourhood, or minor centre within a town-centred community, aspired to a status sociologically impossible of attainment. In the second, an existing community attempted, whether by design or because of over-enthusiasm, to assimilate a population bound to it by no valid social or economic tie. In both cases there was social

and educational loss. In the first the school was actually abandoned upon the absorption of the neighbourhood in its proper community. In both cases a school and community programme failed because the conditions were such that, short of a miracle, it could not succeed.

What is true of the school in this respect in relation to the community is equally true, I may say in passing, of other service agencies. The so-called 'larger parish movement' in the United States, designed as one answer to our serious problems of over-churching, has frequently failed because it has ignored the sociological factors that help to define, explain and make the rural community. The local organizations of our Agricultural Extension services have at times been similarly self-defeated.

Granted, then, a well-integrated rural community or even, in sparsely settled areas, a neighbourhood, what is the relation of the school to the community or, if you prefer, what are the community functions of the school over and above the formal education of its children? These functions may be divided into three parts: community services, curricular and extra-curricular activities with a community emphasis, and public relations. The last I shall not discuss. It hardly seems a problem in your country.

As to the first—community services—there is some argument as to whether or not the school has any responsibility, even if the opportunity exists. There are those who say that it is too hard on the teachers, that the work takes too much time and thus interferes with the educational programme. On the other hand the school is all but an omnipresent institution. In some places it is the only social agency. Community conditions may be such that the educational programme is interfered with if community service is neglected. Moreover, a school teacher is also an individual, a citizen, and is never freed from the obligations of citizenship and of social life.

The 1934 N.E.F. Conference in South Africa grappled with this problem and came to the following conclusion:

'Closer relationships of the rural school to its community are highly desirable. To this end it is advised:

1. That the farm school teacher should know every family and visit every home in the district.

2. That he should promote the general understanding, appreciation and support of education among parents and patrons: this to be done by organizing a parent-teacher association or by conducting similar activities in an informal way.

3. That the farm school teacher should co-operate with all other social agencies, as the home, church, agricultural union, child welfare and social work organizations, in such of their activities as are educative to children of school age.

4. That the farm school building should be used after school hours as a general meeting place for the agencies and activities of the community.

5. That school fairs, sports, agricultural and handicraft exhibits, etc., as now developed by the better farm schools, should be more widely extended throughout all districts.'

The ways in which these principles can be worked out vary in detail with specific communities. There is no one formula for success. Perhaps the best approach to this part of the discussion is to give you at some length two illustrations, one from North Carolina and the other from New Zealand. In each case I am depending on articles by the present leaders in these respective situations, and on many discussions of their work.

Ellerbe, North Carolina, is a small service station village serving a farming area of several hundred square miles. Its high school enrolment is 350, its lower school enrolment almost 700. Ellerbe is in the sand hill region, where a granulated soil eats fertilizer and turns up under the plow

like dirty sugar. It is a country of open pine woods, tobacco barns, peach orchards, short staple cotton and long-eared mules. The farmers come of old sturdy Anglo-Saxon stock, but not all of them can read, and their houses often look as if they did not intend to live in them very long.

Years ago, under the direction of a teacher who believed that the school should take an active part in the life of the community, the students of Ellerbe started a nursery, transplanting young trees and bushes they found in the woods. They planted hedges about the school, in time extending their landscape gardening to the town's church grounds and to 250 homes in the community. Every day one can see, on the running board of a school bus (which the students drive themselves), some shrubs destined to mask in green the brick stilts that lift the farm houses above the naked sand.

The children have made themselves completely responsible for the cleanliness of school grounds and classrooms. One can see groups of small figures scouring the hedges for rubbish like squirrels after nuts. With no teacher in sight, a small boy will run ten yards to put the paper that wrapped his lunch into a trash basket. In the high school a very business-like inspection committee, two girls and a boy, visits all classrooms. They peer under desks, run their fingers along mouldings, and meet outside the doors to compare samples of dust, if any, and give the room a mark.

The students of Ellerbe have built their own tennis court and a log-cabin; they have calcimined their classroom walls, mended their stairs, built bookcases, and put in drinking fountains. The state cannot afford to do it for them, so they do it for themselves, voluntarily. Every year they give the school—their school—about 100,000 hours of work.

North Carolina was seriously hit by the depression. When the teachers have been paid there has been very little money left for bare necessities. But the Ellerbe students have

a school store, which sells stationery and candy and makes a profit of 35 dollars a month, and a print shop which nets about 60 dollars a month. These and other activities have earned for the school almost 7,000 dollars in the last nine years—an income which has made it possible for the school to have a telephone, to get new books and bind old ones, to frame its pictures, to equip its workshop with tools, to put uniforms on its basketball team, and to do a hundred other things that in most states are accepted items in the cost of public education. Nine years ago the school had 650 books. Now, entirely through its own efforts, it has 13,000. The library is always crowded, and after school hours is open to the public. It has three times the average number of books found in the average library in a community of this size.

The printing press at Ellerbe was once given up for junk; its type was mixed with decayed mattress stuffing. The students put the press together and sorted out the forty-one fonts of type which were all pied together. They learn the craft of printing from one another without a teacher. They do the job-printing for the town of Ellerbe and, of course, all the school printing. They filled a private order for a book of poems, and it is a first-rate job of book production.

The burden of discipline has somehow been passed from the teachers to the children, and in the process it has mysteriously disappeared. The buses load and unload their young passengers without supervision; the teachers all go home to lunch and leave the children to themselves. In the high school, the student council is responsible for all discipline and punishes all breaches of it. Yet the calendar of this court is strangely blank; these children behave because they are interested in their work. The teacher is a teacher only and not a cop.

They learn by doing, at Ellerbe. The curriculum wanders over into life, eats big chunks of it, and comes back into the classroom permanently enriched. One of our faculty saw

a class spending one of its periods giving blood tests to a neighbour's chickens, and another which went outdoors to study Cæsar and fight battles with the Helvetians in North Carolina's sand.

The New Zealand story may be familiar to you, but it will bear retelling. It is the account of H. C. D. Somerset's superb work. It is significant both in itself and because it illustrates a different approach to the community through adult education and with the teacher operating as an individual citizen.

The population of the whole county was only 1,660, of the township 800. In this little community there were no fewer than nine religious denominations at work. All were busy organizing guilds and societies and associations within their own groups. There were also the usual sports bodies, women's organizations, etc. The general opinion was that adult education classes would have no hope of success. 'There are so many organizations as it is,' was the usual comment. It did not take long to find, however, that many of the groups were dying on their feet for lack of support. (This, by the way, might just as well serve as a description of hundreds of rural communities in the United States, and indeed in other countries.)

Mr. Somerset early discovered that the countryman resents an outsider *forming* classes for his edification, and that a great deal of time can be saved by using as far as possible the existing groupings. With these two axioms in mind he and his wife accepted every invitation to address church groups, temperance organizations, women's associations, etc., always stressing the need for study in these days of rapidly widening educational horizons.

The beginnings of organized work came, however, in an unexpected way. They decided to hold open house on Saturday nights, starting by asking a few friends and reading a play, some lyrical poetry, or some favourite passages from

literature. They said, in effect, 'This is the way we live; these are some of our interests. We find them satisfying. If you find it worth while to do so, come in and share our books and some of our thoughts.'

The Saturday evening group grew. People got into the habit of dropping in; when all the chairs were taken they sat on the floor. They always ended with a cup of tea and talk. This was the group that formed the committee of the first adult class. Next they started a branch of the Workers' Educational Association, with a preparatory class in English literature and an enrolment of sixty.

There was little of the school about this group. They met on Monday evenings in a little hall capable of holding about eighty people. Mr. Somerset avoided the use of a blackboard and everything else that suggested the traditional methods of the schoolmaster. They began very humbly with short stories—O. Henry, Saki, Katherine Mansfield, and Galsworthy. Before long they had gone on to study two plays of Shakespeare, Shakespeare's England and Tudor music. They received abundant help from the schoolteachers, who found in the classes new interest not usually associated with teaching in the country.

This class, generally known as 'the Monday night class,' has continued ever since. Besides English literature it has studied general psychology, child psychology, art, music, economics and the international aspects of art, music and science. A survey made at the end of eleven years showed that 234 individuals had attended this particular class—over one-third of the adult population of the district. More than half had attended for two years or more, and seven had attended regularly for eight years. Half of the students were farmers or farmers' wives, sons and daughters; many of them came from eight to ten miles to the classes.

But that is not by any means the whole story. The classes were in their second year when a drama circle was formed

as a Thursday evening class, and it has produced nearly one hundred plays in ten years and has studied possibly a hundred more under Mrs. Somerset, who had had some experience in this field. The story of the early attempts at acting is an amusing one. Plays were produced in an antiquated and very inconvenient hall. There was no stage equipment, no scenery, no electric light. A first set of curtains was made of paperhanger's scrim, and the motor cycles of some of the farm youths in the cast used to stand in the wings, their headlights a good substitute for 'floods'!

The attention given to drama soon made the district conscious of a new want—a town hall adequate for every need of a modern rural community. In 1931, after many years of discussion, the new hall was opened. It is a handsome building in ferro-concrete, fully equipped as a Little Theatre with an auditorium capable of seating 450, over one-quarter of the population of the entire county. Here the community-owned cinema is operated every Saturday night and, of course, the hall is the headquarters of the drama circle. A special feature of the hall is the large supper room with an entirely electric kitchen. The supper room also acts as the headquarters of all the farmers' organizations in the district.

Another offshoot from the drama circle is the girls' club. It was formed to give some scope to the younger girls of the district. The club now has a junior and a senior division, each meeting weekly in the town hall. The activities of the club are gymnastics, first aid, hygiene, folk-dancing, song and mime. Every year it gives an amazingly polished display of its work.

Two years after the commencement of W.E.A. work in this district another important educational advance took place. Five of the eight small schools were closed and a new consolidated school was built on a central site. This marked the beginning of more liberal courses of study. The secondary department of the school was able to experiment with a

farm-and-home-life course and a great deal of the experimental work was taken out into the farms in the district. Scientifically-minded farmers were persuaded to co-operate with the school and large-scale experiments in irrigation, top-dressing, variety tests in fodder plants, comparative tests in the fattening of lambs, etc., were carried out. The accounts of one farm were used for a school course in farm book-keeping. The school has also served the community in undertaking a survey of the health and nutrition of the children of the district.

Mr. Somerset's own connections with the school on the one hand and the adult classes on the other have made it possible for him to bridge the gap between community and school. It is scarcely necessary to enumerate the many advantages of this arrangement. The pupils leaving school look forward to joining in the activities of the adult groups. While at school they co-operate in community drama and take part in experimental work that is not merely a school exercise but rather something that is vitally affecting the lives of the farmers in the district. Above all, they learn by daily observation that education is not something that is left behind in adolescence; it is a process that goes on for the whole of life and the educated man is he who determines quietly and with purpose what his adult life is going to be.

In the United States at least, there has been a tremendous increase in this sort of thing in the last seventeen years and especially in the last six or seven. Increasingly, school facilities are being made available to the community, in some places, not only gymnasiums, but also tennis courts, libraries, and the like. As one field-worker wrote of such a situation, there seems to be no distinction whatever between school property and village property in meeting community needs. In some places, school property for community use and community parks and playgrounds were supervised by N.Y.A. students.

In one village, field-workers found, the school had sponsored concerts by the music department, home-talent plays, child-study classes, a father-and-son banquet, ice-cream suppers, a men's quartet and a chorus, a lecture course, and dances, and had opened its clinics to adults. In 1935, when a new school building was asked for in this village, the bond issue was carried by 13 to 1. Similar programmes were not unusual elsewhere. Visiting nights were instituted by a number of schools, art exhibits were noted, and field-workers described several school buildings as being 'hot-beds of community activities.' One school operated the only 'movies' in the community, and had quite a large tree-planting programme. So, too, the music, drama and art activities of the schools, most often conducted on an extra-curricular basis, make a very real contribution to the social and cultural life of many rural communities.

Often such programmes are carried on by parent-teacher associations. I can do no more than list some of their more common activities. These include hobby clubs, handicrafts, gardening, music, drama, pageants, discussions of educational methods and of problems of childhood and youth; Christmas celebrations, community picnics and dinners; securing, and often operating, playgrounds, skating-rinks and swimming holes; and study classes in a wide variety of pertinent subjects from handicapped and problem children to school legislation.

Some of these associations and some schools attempt also to know their communities not by hearsay but at first hand. Their methods vary from simple visits to schools, libraries and other community organizations to a serious comprehensive study of the community either by a survey, or by recording pertinent social data on pupils' enrolment blanks, or by a combination of both these methods. This study of the community seems to me to be highly desirable. I have never known a school community programme based on actual knowledge derived in this way to fail if the facts secured

were properly analysed and used. There is much talk of making a school curriculum consonant with the needs of the community and of the school meeting its social obligation for a measure of community leadership. These are high-sounding aims and, like many such, meaningless unless the efforts to actualize them are rooted in a thoroughgoing knowledge, kept up to date, of the social and economic life and trends of the community. For, to close as I began, the school is a social as well as an educational institution. It is anchored to a definite locale. It must serve a particular population. Especially in its community service its programme succeeds and can only succeed, when based on the sure knowledge of the assets and liabilities, the needs and the capacities, of its locality and population. That achieved, the school becomes a power indeed in helping the rural community achieve the ever more abundant life.

DR. E. DE S. BRUNNER (U.S.A.): *The Rural School Curriculum*

In some respects this subject you have chosen for me has caused me more concern than any other. It seems so much like carrying coals to Newcastle, or better, sheep to these two Commonwealths 'down under.' For I find in operation in your rural schools many procedures which we in the United States are but working towards. I refer to such things as grouping the grades or standards in your one- and two-teacher schools, alternating subjects, use of correspondence instruction and the like. In all of these you seem to have gone further than we, though an increasing number of our schools are adopting or experimenting with such devices. They are, of course, only techniques that may be used with a curriculum that is good,

bad, or indifferent. Moreover, how we judge a given course of study depends wholly upon our preconceptions, our philosophy of education.

I shall begin, therefore, by listing a few principles that seem to many of us to underlie the construction of any modern curriculum. These principles may be stated in terms of the basic interests or questions of youth, questions in regard to which, sooner or later in their lives, young people want information if not help. They are acute problems at the secondary school age, and they are on the threshold of interests among the upper primary school pupils.

The first of these interests comes early. From the time the small boy yearns to be a train driver or a postman, he is concerned with what he is to do in the world. What kind of work can he secure and hold which will bring him, not only the respect of his family and associates, but also, more important, personal satisfaction and self-respect? Given his particular capacities and disabilities, what can he best do? Given society as it is, what is most likely to be demanded of him, and what jobs are most likely to be open to him? What can the curriculum in a city or rural school do to help answer such questions?

Again, children are born into a family group, their earliest impressions are of its functioning, their earliest play simulates its organization. Naturally with maturer years there come such insistent questions as: Shall I marry? What type of mate do I desire? What sort of adjustments will be involved, not only biologically but financially and psychologically? Some of these queries involve not only the mate but also the complex of relationships within and between formerly unrelated family and other social groups. Questions, needs, interests like these go far beyond the province of traditional home economics. Has the school a place for them in its programme?

A third group of questions begins as soon as the child commences to ask the whys and wherefores of creation and the universe, and eventuates in those questions which rise to the surface in adolescence and concern the intensely personal, fundamental philosophy of life every sane person must somehow acquire. Who can trace the subtle processes by which such a philosophy is built? It is a product of life itself and all its experiences. It is compounded of the observation of parents, teachers, friends and enemies. Religion, music and art are woven into it. The beauties of nature, the intricacies of human nature contribute to it. Its development can be helped a bit by formal institutions, such as the so-called character-building agencies, but it is essentially a thing of the spirit, and, whatever the curriculum, only the teacher who uses it as a tool to help each student in his selection of values for his life philosophy is truly a great teacher.

Finally, there come those questions that concern the individual's relation to his social group, to our economic system, to a democratic society. This group of questions is perhaps more insistent and significant today than at any previous time in our modern industrial era. Rebellion against the control of society is, in greater or less degree, a familiar mood to all of us. Even highly regimented, primitive societies —the Maoris of New Zealand, the blackfellows of Australia, the red men of America—knew the mood, erected their taboos against it and had their penalties for any transgression of these taboos. The lands of the free, thank God, have escaped the regimentation alike of primitive society and modern dictatorships. It was no accident that the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was enunciated by an Englishman. But the basic problem of these very democracies today is to build up by the free consent of their citizens the social controls that they feel are necessary to preserve their very life.

In relation to all these things, time-tables, systems of grading and class grouping, and scores of other devices are

seen merely as useful techniques which are valueless unless tied to definite objectives. To supply adequate answers to the questions of youth that I have listed might be one such major objective. Another statement of objectives, which refers especially to elementary education, has been made by the Regents of the University of the State of New York:

'Every child should have help (1) to understand and practise desirable social relationships; (2) to discover and develop his own desirable aptitudes; (3) to cultivate the habit of critical thinking; (4) to appreciate and desire worthwhile activities; (5) to gain command of the common integrating knowledge and skills; (6) to develop a sound body and normal mental attitudes.'

These considerations I hold to be basic to any philosophy of curriculum-building applicable to any school whether in city, town or country. But it does not follow that the curricula adopted, or, better, the subject matter used, in rural and urban schools should be identical. Quite the contrary. The environments and to some degree the functions of the two types of school differ. Granted a basic philosophy of curriculum construction, or of education itself if you will, and granted also the necessity of basic or core subjects and skills, there yet remains the need for differentiation from that point on. This differentiation should use the vividness and reality inherent in the rural child's life. Rural applications can and should be made in teaching the core subjects.

There is a further problem in this connection that both our countries share, if I read your census figures aright. In normal times perhaps two-fifths to a half of American rural youth eventually migrate to the city, but few of the urban youth of comparable years move to the country. Hence the rural school has to consider that its pupils will face one or other of two sharply contrasting environmental experiences. What this means for the curriculum is, in the United States at least, not finally determined, but it does

lead to one important negative conclusion, namely, that the rural school is not a farm or agricultural school. Such institutions or courses may be necessary in some countries and for those who are reasonably sure of entering farming as a life work. That is not to say that vocational agriculture should not be included as one branch within the total curriculum—indeed it is so taught in thousands of the rural high schools of the United States. The problem, then, is to keep such teaching from becoming too narrow and, at least so far as the United States is concerned, too opportunist.

We, for instance, find that the proportion of schools teaching agriculture—a federally subsidized subject—varies with farm purchasing power. During the worst years of the agricultural depression hundreds of schools dropped agriculture and substituted commercial courses. They turned out stenographers and book-keepers far in excess of the local need at a time when the cities were least able to absorb such a surplus. Where agriculture was retained instruction continued in terms of segmented courses in this or that.

Granted, again, that some subject-matter courses are necessary, it would seem that some of the basic objectives I outlined at the opening of these remarks could be achieved by a broad approach. I can, for example, conceive of a unit entitled 'From Wheat to Bread,' which would start out with the seed and its selection, the soil and its preparation and care, the cultivation and harvesting; which would proceed to take up the marketing process, including co-operative marketing, treated not merely as a device but as a social process dependent upon group consent and the mutual trust of the co-operators; which would then follow the wheat through the market board or exchange to the mills, the baker and retailer to the table of the city consumer, and would indicate to the pupil the physical and economic importance of bread to the city dweller and show the interdependence of city and country. Similarly I would prefer to courses or units

in animal husbandry a course on the world of life, biology if you wish, which would be a truly cultural as well as a semi-vocational course.

In short, I am interested in courses in which form and arrangement are incidental to function and purpose. This, I believe, was the position of the N.E.F.'s rural section at the South African Conference in 1934. Their conclusions stated:

'The curriculum of small farm (i.e. rural) schools should be revised in terms of the life-experience and needs of country children. This may be done in part:

1. By co-ordinating and teaching the social studies (geography, history, civics, health) under three units or centres of interest, the Home, the Farm, and the Community.

2. By teaching tool and literary subjects in relation to these units in the social studies.

3. By reorganizing and classifying the entire school into three groups so as to reduce the number of oral recitations in the daily time-tables, thus affording better opportunity for activity and life-related teaching.

4. By stressing nature study and gardening throughout and by introducing a course in agriculture for all children fourteen years of age or older.

5. By developing club organizations within the school which will afford experience and training in group action, such clubs to be organized in co-operation with the Agricultural Extension Service.'

These suggestions seem to express fairly well some of the tendencies in the United States among rural schools, at least those in the village- or town-centred rural communities, though there is much progress still to be made.

There is one other tendency in the United States that may be of interest. I have already suggested the importance of using the environment of the child in building his educational experiences. A decade or more ago this and other procedures were summed up and advocated under the term,

'the child-centred school.' Some are now raising the question whether a school can be adequately child-centred unless it is also community-centred. This means not merely that the school, so far as its resources and facilities permit, should be something of a centre for community activities, especially if none other exists, but it involves also a reasonably thoroughgoing knowledge of the socio-economic life of the community and its history which cannot help but bring understanding and vividness to the policy and teaching of the school.

SIR PERCY MEADON, C.B.E., M.A. (England): *Rural Education in England*

The title 'Rural Education' may convey one of two ideas. It may be taken to refer to a general education given in a rural environment, or to a specific education for rural occupations. The latter includes technical instruction in agriculture, horticulture, dairying, poultry-keeping and other forms of vocational training for adolescents and adults who wish to earn their livelihood in rural areas. It is obvious that the two conceptions somewhat overlap, but in view of the limited time at my disposal I propose to refer only to the former, which is related more to the needs of the individual children and young persons who live in rural areas.

As we are thinking of them as separate individuals, who possess varied aptitudes and interests which should be allowed free development, we have not in mind the idea that the chief aim of rural education should be to keep children in the countryside to work on the land after they have grown up. We agree that a virile and flourishing rural population is essential, and we desire to encourage more and more a love

of country life in the rising generation both in urban and rural schools. But we realize increasingly the importance of broadening the aims of rural education and of placing emphasis on both the individual and the social development of children, whilst not forgetting the need of relating what is taught in the schools to what is happening outside. Our aim, therefore, is rather to consider the rural school as a social unit whose members have cultural and other needs to be satisfied by an education which freely derives much of its inspiration and content from the environment of the members and the traditions of the neighbourhood. It will not, of course, restrict itself wholly to peculiarly rural interests, and many of the methods followed in rightly developing interest in such studies as art, history, literature and music, will not differ materially from those followed in urban schools whose environment is markedly different. But perhaps we cannot do better than take as our model the summary of what the Board of Education for England and Wales consider the school can do. Their statement is set out in the recently issued *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers* and is as follows:

'We may sum up the function of the school as being (1) to provide the kind of environment which is best suited to individual and social development; (2) to stimulate and guide healthy growth in this environment; (3) to enable children to acquire the habits, skills, knowledge, interests and attitudes of mind which they will need for living a full and useful life; and (4) to set standards of behaviour, effort, and attainment, by which they can measure their own conduct.'

The fulfilment of this function is not a simple business in the rural schools, since it implies the development of each child according to his bent and capacity, and shifts the emphasis in teaching from the subject to the child. It follows, too, that freedom must be given to the teacher to develop his

own curriculum. The differences in the range of intelligence and the degree of social adaptability between the brightest and the dullest are generally so great in the mixed group of pupils in charge of one teacher in a rural school that little reliance can be placed upon class teaching, and the provision of suitable, systematic and progressive instruction for the children presents difficulties. It must, however, be admitted that some progressive rural teachers have succeeded in developing a technique which, even under these unfavourable conditions, has enabled them to do work of outstanding merit and to blaze a trail which has since been followed by their colleagues in the more favourably placed reorganized senior schools. Nevertheless, it seems unreasonable that the teachers should have to contend against such obstacles.

The disadvantages from which the rural schools tend to suffer are those which naturally arise from their smallness and isolation. There are many rural schools in England in which the head teacher and an assistant teach forty or fifty children ranging in age from 5 to 11 years, and others in un-reorganized areas with children of from 5 to 14 years of age. The organization of such a school clearly presents difficulties in regard to the provision of a wide, varied and practical programme of instruction and the classification of the pupils in separate and homogeneous classes according to ability and attainments. It is not easy to provide suitable facilities for instruction in science, handicrafts and domestic subjects; the teaching of backward children is a real difficulty; organized games cannot be effectively arranged since there is not a sufficient number of senior pupils to make up a team; the staff is too small to provide specialist teaching; and there are also the intellectual drawbacks which tend to follow from the teacher's isolation.

In these circumstances, and with a view to approaching the ideal of bringing together 'the right teachers and the right pupils in the right conditions,' with a school curriculum in a

more extended and generous form, many education authorities are finding it convenient to consider as the normal unit of organization not the single school but a group of schools. By inter-community reorganization, and after first selecting the pupils for entry into secondary schools, they are transferring all the remaining children of 11 years of age and over from a group of schools to a centrally situated school, either in a separate department or as part of the whole school, with a clear line of demarcation between the senior and the junior divisions. Such an arrangement gives a better classification of pupils both in the junior and in the senior schools, and both types of schools are able to concentrate upon their particular problems. Moreover, it is likely that the change from one school to another at the age of 11 has a stimulating effect upon the children. In the rural areas the senior school which is thus established is usually of the non-selective type, and it has to draw its pupils from a substantial group of contributory schools in order to provide a practicable unit for reorganization, a unit large enough to permit the development of a variety of courses and a vigorous corporate life, and to justify a sufficiently large staff of teachers with varied attainments and interests. Creaming the contributory schools to form a selective central school is rarely effective or practicable in the thinly populated rural areas. In some rural areas where the travelling conditions are difficult and the climate somewhat harsh and trying, the local education authorities are exploring the feasibility of bringing the senior children from the neighbouring schools to the area school during the spring and summer seasons only. It is suggested that these visiting children shall concentrate on practical work during this period and then in the winter remain in their village schools and concentrate on the more academic subjects of the curriculum.

It is in the practical application of these proposals that the rural areas present special problems. One difficulty that is

usually met in carrying out such a scheme arises from the parochial system, the idea of 'one village one school.' The community feeling in the parish or village is usually very strong and this local patriotism for their own school for all ages of children is strengthened by the preference which so many parents have for a school as near as possible to their homes. Sometimes, too, there is a feeling that the school which is to be recognized for junior children will suffer in prestige, and that the change may lead to the removal of the village schoolmaster and thus result in a serious loss to the community. Parents, too, require to be thoroughly satisfied about the arrangements for the transport of the pupils and the provision of a midday meal. These have to be recognized as serious obstacles which demand the most careful attention. The hasty imposition of a scheme of reorganisation on unwilling representatives is to be deprecated. It is therefore essential to exercise patience and to bring home to school managers and parents the definite advantages of a centralized system of education for their older children and, where practicable, to let them see for themselves such a school at work. My own experience is that once they appreciate the more generous corporate life and the wider educational opportunities and amenities which the reorganized school offers they are unable to resist its appeal. In this connection it is also important to see that the removal of the older pupils does not mean any lessening of the efficiency of the junior school which is left. These younger children, as much as older ones, need well-trained and experienced teachers. For this reason many education authorities have wisely decided that the head teacher of even the smallest junior school shall be a college-trained certificated teacher.

Some authorities attribute a good deal of the success of their reorganization schemes to the comparatively limited area from which the schools draw. They feel that it is easier to retain valuable local interest in a school which is readily

accessible to parents and others interested in the pupils. Other authorities hold the view that the test is not so much the distance to be covered in journeying to a regional or area school as the time taken for the journey, and that in view of improved transport facilities it is practicable to draw pupils from a wide area. Thus one authority has established a school which draws its senior pupils from an area of sixty-six square miles. Of the 119 senior pupils on the roll of the school, drawn from nine contributory schools, 92 are conveyed in four buses, which pick up the children along the whole of the routes. Arrangements have been made for the children to shelter in houses in wet weather. The majority of the children are picked up near their homes and have less distance to walk now than they had formerly, and it has been found that children can now be conveyed a distance of several miles to the senior school in less time than it took them to walk from home to their village school.

In the senior section of this school the classification has been arranged according to the age of the pupils. There are three groups or forms corresponding to the number of years covered by the school course, and each group is again divided upon the basis of ability into A and B sections. For this organization the school has a headmaster, an assistant master, two assistant mistresses, and the part-time services of teachers of domestic subjects and handicraft. The headmaster takes the mathematics. The assistant master (B.Sc., honours in science) is generally responsible for Form III. He takes all the science (rural and domestic) with both boys and girls, geography, and gardening. An assistant mistress (certificated) who is responsible for Form II takes the art, needlework, craftwork, and music. Form I is supervised by an assistant mistress (B.A., honours in English) who is responsible for the English and history of the school. She is also very interested in the delightful country dancing of the girls.

The school is divided into four houses and the prefect system is in operation. The prefects have definite duties to perform, and the advantage of the system is most obvious in the arrangements made for dining. Practically all the children stay for the midday meal and the school has a separate dining-room and kitchen. In some areas the school canteen is becoming a normal feature of these schools, and meals are sometimes provided at the low charge of threepence for two courses. The authority usually provides the building and equipment for the setting up of a canteen and pays the wages of the cook and her assistant. Each canteen has its own canteen committee, on which the managers and the teachers are represented, and this committee undertakes the purchase of the food and fuel and replacements of crockery, etc. Sometimes the school garden supplies the vegetables. Frequently the pupils wait at table in turns and a good deal is done to emphasize the social value of the meal and to use the opportunities it affords for training in courtesy and good manners. In England we are likely to see a great extension of this provision in all types of schools on both educational and social grounds.

These new senior schools usually have spacious playgrounds and playing-fields, and the sites permit generous planning and disposition of the school buildings and afford ample provision for gardens. Some authorities are wisely viewing the school site and grounds as a whole, and are encouraging its development as an attractive estate laid out with trees, shrubs and gardens. The results are not only delightful in themselves, but they have led also to interesting forms of practical activities for the pupils. Often the land set aside for the general gardening instruction exceeds an acre and provides room for vegetables, roses, herbaceous borders, rock gardens, lawns, a pool, fruit trees, bird tables and nest boxes. Usually the pupils spend the first two years of the gardening course in general training and then are given special responsibilities.

Sometimes a team of older boys keep in order the model cottage gardens they have laid out and there enjoy the delight of looking after a beautiful garden as well as gaining experience in gardening operations throughout the year. In some schools the cultivation of fruit trees, roses and flowering shrubs is undertaken and instruction given in the use of manures, hot beds and cold frames and in the management of a glass-house. Sometimes farm crops of various kinds are grown in the garden, and the pupils visit neighbouring farms for the study of farm crops, machinery, the feeding and care of animals and seasonal operations. Occasionally experimental work is attempted with the co-operation of the authority's horticultural or agricultural organising staff. A few years ago at our county agricultural show a model school garden was laid out, partly by elementary school boys and partly by students from our county horticultural station, with the object of stimulating local interest in the work of the rural school and showing what could be done in a school garden on both the cultural and the utilitarian sides. There was a constant stream of interested visitors, and hundreds of teachers and thousands of children were given special facilities to see the model garden.

In the rural schools from which the senior pupils have been transferred the gardens are being retained for the use of the juniors and infants. The juniors use them as nature study plots and take only a simple course of light practical work, while the infants have flower gardens or borders.

A growing number of schools find that the care of livestock is a suitable activity. The last published return of the Board of Education in 1934 indicated that the following courses of instruction in the care of live-stock were in operation:

Use is made of the practical work to illustrate simple biological principles. The boys do the heavy work, including the erection of the houses, the making of hives, brooders, frames, etc. In a few cases the activities of young farmers' clubs and calf clubs are associated with the work of the school. In one village school, the Board of Education report that the activities include instruction in first aid and personal hygiene, meteorological observations, a land utilization survey, attention to the flower beds round the war memorial, the management of a branch of the county library, and folk-dancing.

There has been a striking extension during the past few years of the amount of dairy work taught to the senior children in rural schools. The practical work is sometimes done at a neighbouring farm, sometimes in a room at the school temporarily equipped as a dairy, the instruction usually being given by members of the county agricultural staff or by instructresses who are engaged full-time to travel round from school to school. In addition to the practical work, the course generally includes lessons on the properties, composition and food value of milk, the production of clean milk, and milk products.

The new senior schools in the country have separate practical rooms fitted for science as well as handicraft. The science teaching schemes vary greatly in scope and content, but generally they are closely related to the garden, and include a simple general study of some such topics as the following: air, water, soils, weather, tillage operations, life-histories of insect pests, principles underlying the working of pumps, farm implements and machinery, and pond, plant and animal life. Illustrations are drawn from the everyday life and work of the countryside. The bird and tree competition of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds has greatly encouraged bird and tree studies in our country schools. Under this scheme the older pupils are enrolled as cadets and each chooses a bird and a tree. All make detailed observations, notes

and sketches of these throughout the year. In this way thousands of girls and boys are encouraged in first-hand observation and accurate recording, and many of them form life-long interests and hobbies.

The craft work is becoming more varied, and is slowly giving evidence of improved taste and skill. It may be divided into three groups: plastic crafts, book crafts, and textile crafts. With a view to improving the standard of taste, one authority has collected specimens of woven designs executed by outstanding craftsmen and specimens of good pottery for circulation round the schools.

The same basic work in housecraft is necessary in rural and urban schools, but in the country schools it is common to place additional stress on different methods of using farm and garden produce, the preservation of fruit, eggs, vegetables, etc., and jam-making. Quite often we find that the boys are growing the fruit and vegetables and the girls canning or bottling these products. The varied courses in cookery include a study of food values and the need for balanced diets, and the girls also gain a knowledge of the daily routine of a house.

Perhaps the most striking advance of recent years is the increased provision for training in handicraft in our rural schools. Formerly handicraft was often regarded as a specialized subject separated from other activities, but the tendency now is to look upon it rather as complementary to a broad course of practical education. Construction in wood and metal is therefore undertaken in connection with other practical activities, such as gardening, science, geography, mathematics and the care of live-stock.

As the pupils at present leave at the early age of 14, and only a few of them will subsequently return in the evenings for further organized instruction, the instruction in arithmetic cannot be carried very far. Most schemes, therefore, aim at securing a sound knowledge of simple and fundamental arithmetical processes, with the ability to apply this knowledge

to the problems arising from the everyday work and play of the children. Material for arithmetical calculations is, therefore, frequently taken from the pupils' activities in housecraft, gardening, handicraft, poultry-keeping, etc.

The methods of approach for other branches of the curriculum, such as English, history, geography, art, music, social studies, and physical training, do not differ much from those followed in urban schools. It can, however, be noted that increasing attention is rightly being given in rural schools to training in spoken and written English. The comparatively recent establishment of branches of the county libraries in most villages has made available a wider range of books suitable for the children and this is helping the work of the school. It is very important that children in rural schools should have ready access to good books.

It is hoped that these brief comments on some of the activities of the reorganized schools will indicate that the aim in view is the provision of more vigorous and enterprising institutions. Agriculture and the countryside need well-educated men and women as much as do other industries and the towns. The fact that the educational needs of the country villages are more difficult to meet than are the needs of the towns is no reason for delaying reorganization. If efficient work is to be done, it must be planned not for this or that village, but for each area as a whole. Moreover, if we believe in the policy of providing, as far as is possible, equal educational opportunities for all our pupils, it is essential that the schemes of reorganization should be carried out as thoroughly and effectively in the rural areas as they are in the less difficult urban centres, and that the teachers should have freedom to develop their own curricula and not be limited by a prescribed syllabus, prescribed text-books and inadequate equipment. With their special opportunities, their practical outlook, and their close relationship to the everyday life and work of the countryside, the new senior schools should help to stimulate

the interest of all sections of rural communities in education, and this should lead to the recognition and use of these well-equipped schools as rural colleges providing favourable opportunities not only for the rural child but also for the adolescent and the adult to develop as fully as possible his three-fold function in this world—to make a livelihood, to be a citizen, and to be a man.

CHAPTER XI

THE TEACHER: HIS TRAINING AND STATUS

DR. I. L. KANDEL (U.S.A.): *The Preparation of Teachers*

THE question of the preparation of teachers involves a consideration of: (1) the meaning of professional preparation as distinguished from the traditional practice of apprenticeship training; (2) the place of the teacher in the administrative scheme; and (3) the part to be played by the teacher in determining educational policies. In the past the emphasis was largely upon imparting to the intending teacher the techniques and devices of instruction; success was measured by his ability to follow prescribed courses of study and to meet external standards as measured by examinations and inspection. Under such a system little attention was devoted to training teachers in the exercise of initiative and in the use of the freedom which comes from an understanding of the principles underlying education and instruction.

One serious difficulty involved in the adequate organization of a system of professional preparation of teachers is that the tools that they must use for purposes of instruction are the same as those used for general or academic training. This gives rise to the question whether the studies of the prospective teacher should be purely academic or whether they should be professionalized, that is, treated from the point of view of their social meaning and purpose and their educational value

at different levels of pupil growth. This raises the next set of questions: (1) the relation between academic studies and the professional subjects such as the history of education, the principles of education, and psychology; and (2) the relation between theory and practice.

Hence arises another question: whether teachers should be prepared in separate training colleges or in universities. The tendency today is to lengthen the period of preparation and to bring the training colleges into closer relation with the universities, as affiliated schools of education analogous to other professional schools and offering courses leading to an appropriate degree.

All this means a change in the status of teachers from that of subordinates to that of members of a profession with greater freedom and less regimentation. Such freedom is necessary because pupils differ in abilities and aptitudes and in their environmental backgrounds. But it must be controlled by that sense of responsibility which should come from professional preparation, from co-operation as members of a profession within a school or a school system, and from continued study to keep abreast of progress in educational theory and practice.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *The Training of Teachers*

The existing systems of teacher training are everywhere unsatisfactory, both on the side of theory and on the side of practice. The theory is generally superficial, and the practice is too often craftsmanship without knowledge of principle.

There are two outstanding weaknesses that beset most systems of teacher training. The one is the divorce of theory and practice, due to the fact that the teachers of teachers-to-be

are either practitioners with limited general culture, or academic people weak on the practical side. The other weakness is the shortness of the time devoted to training in colleges designed by government Departments of Education to give only the minimum preparation required. Within the space of the two years or so given to the task, it is impossible to give more than a scrappy training, far short of real professional requirements.

Actually a thorough training for the teacher's office makes necessary a very comprehensive programme of studies. The well-equipped teacher needs four things: (*a*) a broad background of general culture; (*b*) a good body of knowledge in the school subjects; (*c*) a considerable knowledge of the philosophy and science of education; and (*d*) competence in teaching and school organisation.

How can these requirements be met? The foundations of the training must be laid on a good secondary education. Following that, there ought to be a course of professional training comparable with the course of medical training, and occupying at least four years. Following the medical analogy, we may think of this professional course beginning with the philosophical disciplines which underlie education—philosophy, ethics, sociology and psychology. There might follow studies more definitely related to school work—a survey of curricula and methods, on the one hand, and, on the other, the psychology of subject-matter and of the child. The culminating studies would deal with the actual work of the school in all its aspects. Somewhere in relation to the cultural interests there might come in the content subjects, studied not only for their future use in school, but for their personal value to the student himself. And alongside this general course of study, there would, of course, be plenty of opportunities for practical work of all kinds, to ensure teaching skill, without which educational theory is of no avail.

Where should this professional training be given? Obviously in the university, because of the opportunity that

the university provides for a generous view of life and contacts with students preparing for the different professions. All the work would lead up to a university degree in education. The degree course would not necessarily be taken by all teachers-in-training, but would be within the reach of all. The existing training colleges might become schools of education within the university system.

MR. E. SALTER DAVIES, C.B.E., M.A. (England): *The Training of Teachers in England*

The function of the public elementary school is defined by the English Board of Education as follows: 'To form and strengthen the character, and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life.' The training of men and women to undertake the work of teaching with such ends in view is of high importance. More important than training, however, is the selection of individuals who possess the personal qualities which will enable them to do this work effectively.

The English Departmental Committee which reported in 1925 on the training of teachers for public elementary schools remarked that the qualities most essential in a teacher were, perhaps, sympathetic understanding, vitality, and a kind of firm flexibility, coupled with the virtues of justness, patience and humour. They added as qualities which were desirable, if not essential, intelligence, clearness and freshness of mind, wide interests, breadth of outlook, common sense, and some capacity for drawing, music, and handwork. If all these

qualities could be found united in a single personality, training might, perhaps, be allowed to shift for itself, but in all professions such folk are rare. All that we can hope to do is by careful selection to eliminate those individuals who obviously do not possess the essential qualifications—and it is significant that the qualities which the Departmental Committee put first are sympathetic understanding and vitality—and by wise training to improve the capacity for useful work both of the ordinary and of the extraordinary teacher. One thing that training cannot do is to make a good teacher out of the wrong material.

If in what I say I refer in some detail to the arrangements for training which are in operation in my own country, it is not because I think these arrangements are especially to be commended. On the contrary, I believe that there is a very general conviction that they are in many respects unsatisfactory and that great change is desirable. At the last meeting of an educational institution which I attended before leaving for this tour, I moved a resolution urging upon the government the appointment of a Departmental Committee to reconsider the whole question of teacher training. It is just because I believe that the English system of training is in a state of transition that I think that a brief examination of its present condition and its recent history will be worth while.

At the end of the first half of the last century, boys and girls of not less than 13 years of age were apprenticed for five years under the head teachers of their elementary schools to learn the art of teaching, and to carry on their general education until they might qualify for admission to a training college, where for two more years they would continue their general education and receive professional training in the theory and practice of teaching. Later the system was modified by collecting the pupil-teachers of one area for instruction in part-time centres when they were not teaching in the elementary school.

At the beginning of the present century, the minimum age of pupil-teachers was raised to 16, and their employment in the elementary school was limited to half-time during a period of two years. The pupil-teacher centres gradually became absorbed into secondary schools or became the nuclei of new secondary schools. There were many variations of practice, but gradually it became common for the first year of pupil-teaching to be spent in the secondary school and the second year in teaching in the elementary school. In 1907, a new system was introduced by the Board of Education under which the boy or girl might spend both years at the secondary school and proceed direct to the training college, or spend one year of practice in the elementary school between the time of leaving the secondary school and that of entering the training college. At the present time the great majority of boys and girls proceed direct to the training college from the secondary school. The subsequent training of the intending teacher is divided between the training college, where the ordinary course of two years is sometimes extended to three, and the university training departments, where three years of academic instruction are followed by one year of professional training.

Since the scale of salaries of secondary teachers is higher than that of elementary teachers, their conditions in many respects more favourable, and their social prestige higher, it is not unnatural that the majority of university-trained teachers should look for employment in the secondary school rather than in the elementary school. It is obvious that the problem of training the teacher who will be employed in teaching boys and girls who may remain at school until 18 or 19 is different from that of training the teacher who will deal with children who will leave school at 14 or 15. It is, however, in my view, both unnecessary and inadvisable that the training of the elementary teacher should be sharply distinguished from that of the secondary teacher, and extremely undesirable that only those university-trained teachers who fail to obtain employment in a secondary school should accept appointment in an

elementary school. After all, a large number of boys and girls leave the secondary school at 16, and an increasing number of boys and girls stay at the reorganised senior or central elementary school beyond the age of 15. The distinction in training should depend upon the age of the pupil to be instructed and not upon the fact that the school is elementary or secondary. There is another grave weakness in the present system of training. University training departments admit the majority of their students at the age of 18 to 19, that is, at the beginning of their university course. The Board of Education find it necessary to limit the number of such students who are eligible for recognition as certificated teachers. A student, therefore, who decides during or at the end of his university career that he wishes to teach in an elementary school is often unable to obtain recognition as a certificated teacher.

I have no doubt that the right institution to undertake the training of teachers, whether for elementary or for secondary schools, is the university. It is manifestly desirable that young men and women who are being trained for the teaching profession should be associated with their fellows who are being trained for the other learned professions. Such association is one of the most potent elements of a liberal education. The teacher in the school has to deal with boys and girls who will later enter a great variety of occupations and, while the school must not be narrowly vocational in its aims, one of its main purposes must be to fit those boys and girls for the work which they will have to do when they leave school. Perhaps the most common defect of our educational institutions, from the elementary school to the university, is that they tend to become detached from the life of the community of which they are a part. Their curricula and methods tend to become stereotyped and unreal, and fail to adapt themselves to the changing needs of a changing society. This danger is intensified by the segregation of teachers during their period

of training in institutions where they meet only men and women of similar training and outlook.

As Ruskin pointed out, it has been the great defect of modern intelligence to confuse science, that is, knowledge, with education. 'The chief end of education is to teach our youth to love truth and speak it; to love work and thoroughly do it; and to love knowledge and seek it, not only in books, but also in fields and seas. And only so far as we love these things ourselves can we teach the love of them to others.'

A sound training will give a teacher the knowledge which he needs, but it will give him also what is vastly more important—a love of knowledge and something of that humility which Darwin showed when he described the scientist as a child picking up pebbles beside the infinite sea of knowledge. This is the most precious gift of a liberal education, and it is more likely to be gained in the wide spaces of a university than in the cloisters of a training college.

As things stand at present, it is very doubtful whether for the intending teacher of average ability whose future lies in the elementary school, a three-year university course followed by one year of professional training provides as satisfactory a course of training as a two-year course in a training college. Moreover, the university course as at present constituted gives inadequate training for the handling of that important part of the curriculum of the reorganised senior or central elementary school which is especially concerned with physical education and with craftwork. It seems clear that, at least for some time to come, the two-year training college with, it is hoped, greatly increased provision for a third-year course will exist side by side with the university training departments. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that the relationship between the two types of training shall be accurately determined and defined, and that the university training course shall be re-arranged so as to meet the requirements of the reorganised elementary school system.

Some of the training colleges are placed in close proximity to a university, while others are affiliated to a university. This enables the two institutions to work in close harmony with each other and prevents duplication and overlapping. The danger is that the teachers may be tempted to attach too much importance to the gaining of a university degree and may neglect the professional and most important side of their training. Where teachers divide their time between a training college and a university, there is grave danger of over-strain and of a conflict of loyalties.

We all recognise that the training of a teacher cannot possibly be completed in a training college, and the harvest of training college courses is a deferred one and not directly evident. With full allowance for this, it is, I think, a fairly general impression, particularly among head teachers, that the standard of teaching skill among students on first appointment should be higher than it is. This weakness has been particularly noted in connection with the appointment of students direct to reorganised senior schools. This is due, I think, to the fact that these schools have attained a certain, perhaps too great, measure of specialization, and that, if new entrants to the profession do not have the opportunity of developing their powers as general practitioners, they are very much slower to develop and sometimes meet with failure. There have been students who have failed in their first appointments, and have failed so signally that it has been necessary to arrange for them to be given, at comparatively short notice, a second opportunity in a different school. In the second school the student concerned is given a full measure of class teaching. It is, I believe, a fairly generally held view amongst the heads of central schools that new entrants to the profession should have their first years of experience in junior or all-age schools, irrespective of whether they have taken at the training college a course specially designed for the production of teachers of senior children.

There is one further point. There appears to be too great an unevenness in the ability to teach fundamental school subjects. I remember that when the regulations for the Board's certificate examination were under review in 1913, it was generally thought that it did not so very much matter if students did not actually deal with all subjects of the curriculum during their training college course. It used to be said that a good training, plus mother wit, plus a good reference book, equalled a good lesson on any subject under the sun. For one reason or another, it is, I think, unquestionably true that students too readily say that they are unable to teach certain things. This is a marked difficulty in connection with first appointments. Those members of appointing bodies who have had considerable experience of students do not take these protestations of inability too seriously. At the same time, a real conspectus of the curriculum of the elementary school is an essential ingredient in the training of a good teacher, whether he be a specialist or a general practitioner. I do not for one moment urge that training colleges should endeavour to give equal weight for all students to all the subjects of the curriculum, but rather that there should be a definite effort made to bring the students to realise that each subject is part of a whole, and that the training in a particular subject or group of subjects is intended to fit them for work as teachers as well as to fit them for the teaching of these particular subjects. Students often prove to be better teachers of subjects to which they have not given particular attention, and in which they were throughout their own education inclined to be weak.

There are marked differences between the previous education of students admitted to training colleges last year and that of students admitted, say, in 1923. In the latter year the percentage of students classified by their previous status as student-teachers was as high as 44.7. In addition to these student-teachers there were a further large number classified as uncertificated teachers. Today, a very small proportion of students admitted to training colleges have a similar amount

of practical teaching experience. The abolition of the student-teacher came only after a struggle, and there is still in existence a fairly large body of opinion in favour of the student-teacher system. If the abolition of the student-teacher is to be fully justified, it is clear that either the training college course or the early years of teaching experience must replace such professional value as there was in a period as a student-teacher. The Departmental Committee, which came to the conclusion that the balance of evidence was in favour of the abolition of student-teachers, were careful to emphasise that, in coming to this conclusion, they were not giving too little weight to the teacher's practical competence and too much weight to his general educational qualifications. The words which they used are particularly striking: 'In the proposals which we make below for the professional training of the certificated teacher, we shall be seen to emphasise rather the side of teaching efficiency. It is, indeed, partly our conviction of the importance of teaching efficiency which leads us to the view that the secondary school course should be complete and uninterrupted, in order that the future teacher who does not take a degree course at a university may be better able to concentrate with a single mind upon the vocational work which follows.'

With the abolition of student-teachers, there has developed a much larger amount of sixth-form work in secondary schools. The development of this work has entailed a measure of specialization and probably a higher academic standard in particular subjects. With this a higher standard of academic attainment has come to be required for admission to a training college. This is in the right direction, provided that too much importance is not placed upon evidence of the attainment of an academic standard. Another change of importance is that the university has become concerned with the final examination of training college students, and the Board of Education have ceased to exercise the direct influence upon the examination which they did previously. Those immediately

connected with training colleges know far better than I do the actual effect which this change in the method of examination and in the relationship between training colleges and the universities has had. In the case of the college with which I am most closely associated, an arrangement of this kind had existed for some time before the general scheme was developed. I think that it is possible, however, that the passing of the main responsibility to training colleges and universities has resulted in the loss of a certain amount of practical experience which was contributed by H. M. Inspectors in the days when the Board of Education themselves conducted the examination. At the same time as the training colleges have had to face the problems created by the disappearance of student-teachers and the influx of a body of students with little, if any, experience of actual teaching, they have also been called upon to take into account the changes which have been gradually brought about by a certain measure of reorganisation in the schools. This factor, together with the rise in the academic standard of the students and the change in the method of examination, has tended, it seems to me, towards excessive attention being given to the attainment of a high standard in purely academic work, and too little attention being given to the adaptation of courses of academic study to the particular needs of professional training.

When all is said and done, it remains true that a teacher, at the end of his period of training, has still to learn his job. A teacher in England is required to serve one year of probation. It is exceedingly important that this year of probation should be spent in a school or in schools where he will obtain the best possible experience, and the greatest amount of effective help and supervision. It is not an uncommon experience for a teacher to fail in his first school, and to make good on removal to another. In England, unfortunately, there are various obstacles which prevent a local education authority from arranging the placing of new entrants in the most effective way. The present distribution of responsibility between the

local education authority and the managing bodies of the schools is not favourable to a scientific system of placing.

In England, I am glad to say, there are a large number of what are called 'vacation courses,' arranged for practising teachers by the Board of Education, by the local education authorities, and by other bodies. These may deal with single subjects of the curriculum, such as history, geography, and religious training; there are also a number of courses in physical education. In my own county there is a summer school which lasts for about a fortnight, and is attended by some 300 teachers, not only from Kent, but also from other parts of Great Britain, from European countries, from the British Dominions, and elsewhere. There are two main courses, one for teachers of infants and juniors, and one for teachers of senior children. There are in addition special courses in physical education, in religious knowledge, and in various crafts. It is difficult to over-estimate the value of such courses. Teachers are in great danger, perhaps more than any other class of professional workers, of lapsing into routine. A course of this kind brings them into contact with other teachers and with fresh ideas, and they go back to their schools with fresh courage and with fresh inspiration.

DR. F. W. HART (U.S.A.): *The Freedom of the Teacher*

If I were Director of Education in an organized society, that held within its power, either by conquest or otherwise, a subject primitive race, and if it were the policy of that society to keep such people in a state of subjugation, I would not permit a school of any kind to be established. I would not permit a teacher, a missionary, or a ray of enlightenment to enter the boundaries of the subject people. Abysmal ignorance

is the best guarantee of docile submission to economic slavery and profitable exploitation.

If I were Director of Education in a country ruled by a dictator, I would make education free, universal and mandatory for all people of all ages. I would prescribe, in the most minute detail, the curriculum, the content, the method, and purge the schools of any teacher who did not follow the prescription to the letter of the law. Dictatorship cannot endure in the presence of enlightenment, cannot survive in an atmosphere of free, critical thinking.

If I were Director of Education in a country in which the government derived its just powers from the consent of the governed, education would again be free, universal, mandatory for youth and available to all ages, but, in this case, no phase of the social, economic or political life of the nation would be excluded from rigorous critical study, and no aspect of government would be too sacred to undergo searching scrutiny.

In the light of the foregoing statements, it is evident that we cannot discuss the freedom of the teacher intelligently until we have raised one all-important question and reached a common understanding of the answer to it. The question is: Do the schools exist for the purpose of preserving, and perpetuating unchanged, the form of society of which they are a part, or do they exist for the purpose of developing critical thinkers, who will seek to know the truth and apply it to the betterment of society? If it is agreed that the purpose of the school system is to preserve, to perpetuate unchanged, the form of society of which it is a part, the content of education becomes propaganda, the method regimentation, the result indoctrination, and there is no such thing as freedom for the teacher. If, on the other hand, schools exist for the purpose of developing enlightened, critical thinkers who will seek to know the truth and to apply it to the betterment of society, the freedom of the teacher becomes an issue of profound significance.

It is from the latter point of view that we shall consider the freedom of the teacher. In America, the freedom of the teacher to teach is seldom seriously challenged outside the field of the social, political and economic life of the community, the State, or the nation. It is within this field, therefore, that I shall consider the issue.

Some three years ago, in California, a committee of educators was named by our State Superintendent of Public Instruction to consider the revision of the curriculum, especially as it related to the field of the social studies. It was my privilege to serve as chairman of that committee and to deliver its report at the annual Association meeting of all of the high school principals and superintendents in the State. The position taken by the committee can best be expressed by a direct quotation from its report. Having given due recognition to the great advances made in our schools in the field of the physical sciences, it continued thus:

'We are not contending for the abandonment of the pursuit of the physical sciences, for a "scientific holiday" or a moratorium. That pursuit must go on—it has served us well and will continue to be necessary. But we are contending that there must be a shift of emphasis, a re-alignment of recognitions and rewards, that will cause the social sciences to rise to a position of supremacy in the minds of men—to appeal to the genius of our people, to command our intelligence. We are not unmindful of the fact that our public school programme of today does offer what purports to be instruction in the social sciences and we recognise that here and there some vital work is being done, but, by and large, we hold that most of the social science, as taught, is socially impotent, politically spineless and economically innocuous—academic apple-sauce, cultural custard.'

'It would not be just or fair to lay such a scathing indictment at the door of our schools without assuming the responsibility of explaining why such a situation exists. The explanations are not far to find. In the first place, the social

science field is the pasture land of our society's most cherished "sacred cows"—property, privilege, profit and false patriotism; and the second reason is the time-hallowed homage which we pay to college entrance requirements—may we call this our worship of the "golden calf of culture," obsolescent culture?"

Scathing as the foregoing indictment may have been, the committee's report was adopted unanimously by the Association, and steps taken immediately to carry the recommendations of the report into effect. Lobby discussion of the report revealed that there were those who felt that the committee had borne down rather heavily on the time-hallowed teaching of history and formal civics. They seemed to feel that, after all, that type of history teaching which hangs up the great events of history on a chronological clothes-line, pinning them on with important dates, may have some significance in contemporary life.

On my return to the University, I initiated a series of research studies aimed at discovering whether or not our indictment of the teaching of the social studies in the State of California was too severe. Four doctorate studies in all were outlined and carried to completion.

The first investigation sought the answers to the following questions: How much information do graduating high school seniors have on contemporary social, political and economic problems and issues? What relationship exists between the amount of such information and the amount of social studies work they have taken in school?

In order to answer these questions, contemporary books, newspapers and periodicals over a period of two years were analysed for the purpose of discovering the problems and issues raised. From this source more than 500 problems were derived and more than 200 issues were selected. More than 4000 objective test items were then prepared for the purpose of constructing an objective social survey test. The final tests were based on 200 of the test items selected by an accredited jury as representing the types of information that a graduating

high school senior should have in order to fulfil intelligently his function as a citizen. These tests were given to more than 4000 high school seniors in 40 high schools throughout California. The tests were constructed so that a perfect score was 100 points.

The results of the survey showed that the highest score made by any pupil was 58, and that the average score was 20. The general outcome may probably be expressed by saying that graduating high school seniors in California possessed some definite information on one-third of the problems and issues, no information on one-third of the problems and issues, and misinformation on the remaining one-third. It was further revealed that the correlation between the number of semesters of social science taken by the students and the amount of information possessed by them was practically zero. In other words, it does not matter whether a student takes only four semesters of our social studies as usually taught, or ten—the amount of information he possesses will probably be about the same.

The conclusions of this research do not necessarily imply that the study of history or formal civics has no cultural value, but they do definitely prove that social science as taught provides little or no information on contemporary problems and issues of a social, political or economic nature. Social science instruction is evidently not training for intelligent participation in contemporary American life.

A second study, seeking to discover the origin of the attitudes and opinions of our graduating high school seniors toward contemporary social, political and economic issues, carried out in a similar manner, revealed this interesting fact. The correlation between the attitudes and opinions of students and the attitudes and opinions of their parents was .61, while the correlation between the attitudes and opinions of the students and those of their teachers was only .12. Still more disturbing is the fact that the correlation between the attitudes

and opinions of students and those of 88 college and university instructors in the field of social studies was '01.

From this it is evident that the attitudes and opinions of our graduating high school seniors with reference to social, political and economic problems are being formed in the home, and are very little influenced by the school. This may be desirable, but if it is true, then we are not entitled to claim that our secondary schools are society's chosen agency for training for citizenship. A generalisation that may be drawn is that the influence of the teachers and college professors combined is probably less than that of the parents. The conclusions of this study form the strongest argument in favour of adult education that I have yet encountered.

The third investigation in the series raised the question of what the teachers of social studies know about social, political and economic problems. In order to answer this question, an intense research was carried out, involving 892 teachers and 424 graduating high school seniors. It was gratifying to discover that the average teacher's score was above 60, whereas the average score of our graduating seniors was approximately 20. The fact that the teachers possess a considerable amount of information in this field, and the fact that the students do not acquire this information in their classes, raised a fourth very important issue: What are the factors conditioning the presentation and discussion of controversial issues in the social studies?

A fourth study was carried to completion with as rigorous a technique as its nature would permit, the major conclusion being that while teachers are not frequently subjected to external pressure because of studying contemporary problems, they are at the same time conscious of the fact that if they did treat these issues fairly and courageously in their classes they would be subjected to the external pressure of vested interest groups. They consequently pursue a cautious and guarded course in the treatment of controversial issues that deal with social, political and economic problems.

If our schools are to fulfil their mission, and live up to their claims of being society's chosen agency for the training of young people for the responsibilities of citizenship, the fear of interference by vested interest groups will have to be eliminated. As I see it, this can be done only through a strong progressive organisation of teachers, supported by the administration, and by thoughtful citizens. In democratic countries the freedom of the teacher in the field of social studies is the most important issue in education today, and the claim for such freedom should receive the unqualified support of everyone interested in preserving popular self-government.

DR. F. W. HART (U.S.A.): *The Inspection of Schools*

There is a place for the inspection of schools. The water supply should be inspected and the building should be inspected with reference to its safety in the event of fire, earthquake and panic; the heating and ventilation systems should be inspected, all machinery and apparatus should be inspected rigorously, and all necessary rules, regulations and precautions strictly enforced. All of these things are of an objective nature, and can therefore be inspected and reported upon with reliability; but from my point of view, that comprises the only inspection that should be tolerated in a school, and the inspector who performs that type of service should be the only inspector permitted within gun-shot of a school.

Inspection of teachers and teaching, as performed in New Zealand, should, in my opinion, be abolished, and in its place should be substituted an organised programme of supervision, supervision being defined as helping teachers to teach. In

condemning inspection as performed in New Zealand, I am not condemning the personnel, the inspectors—I am condemning the system. Your inspectors are splendid men, men of the type that one would be glad to see appointed superintendents, supervisors or principals of schools; but these men are caught in the machinery of a system and are as much its victims as are the teachers themselves.

If supervision of instruction is to be effective it must be divorced from administration. The supervisor must not be called upon to submit administrative reports on the teacher with whom he works—reports that are to determine the teacher's salary and his chances of promotion—for just as soon as the supervisor becomes an administrative officer, he loses the possibility of being a genuine teacher of teachers.

As I see it, the three main evils in the New Zealand school system are segregation, examinations and inspection. Of these the examination system is probably the greatest curse imposed upon pupils, and inspection the greatest menace to successful teaching; and if a function of education is the social adjustment of the individual, then there can be no defensible grounds established for the segregation of boys and girls of adolescent age. Social adjustment, in my opinion, cannot be achieved under conditions of segregation.

DR. F. W. HART (U.S.A.): *The Teacher's Status*

We might approach this topic from a number of angles, for example, that of legal status, including training, tenure and retirement, or we might approach it from the point of view of the teacher's professional status or social status; but what interests me most—what really counts—is the status of the teacher in the minds, the hearts and the lives of the

pupils he teaches. It is from that point of view that I shall ask you to listen to 10,000 high school seniors, boys and girls of 16, 17, and 18 years of age, tell us what they think of the teachers they have had—what teachers they have liked best, what teachers they have liked least of all, and what teachers they think have taught them most effectively. In the main, I shall let the pupils speak for themselves, taking only such time myself as is necessary to explain how the data was collected, and to summarize the implications.

Ten thousand high school seniors were asked to respond to the following requests, under circumstances ensuring confidence, good faith and sincerity.

*To Seniors in Representative High Schools
Throughout the United States*
(Do not sign your name)

Through the information you are asked to give, it is hoped that teaching in high schools may be made better. That would be a fitting memorial for your senior class to contribute to succeeding classes. To that end will you, therefore, carefully think through the issues raised below and record the results of your four years of experience frankly and accurately. You are not asked to sign your name, and these blanks will be collected by one of your classmates, sealed in your presence, and placed in the mail by the one collecting them. Your confidence will be respected.

(1) Considering all the teachers you have had in high school, think of the one you have liked best, and without mentioning the teacher's name, write down in the space below as accurately as you can your reasons for liking this teacher best. Call this teacher 'Teacher A.' Note that this is to be the teacher you liked best, not necessarily the best teacher.

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(2) Now think of the one you have liked least of all, and write down as accurately as you can your reasons for not liking this teacher. Call this teacher 'Teacher Z.'

(3) Was the teacher you liked best also the best teacher; that is, the one who taught you most effectively? Was 'Teacher Z' the best teacher?

. . . .

(4) If neither 'Teacher A' nor 'Teacher Z' was the best teacher you have had, write down as clearly as you can just how your best teacher differed from 'Teacher A.' Call this teacher 'Teacher H.'

Teacher 'H' differed from Teacher 'A' in the following ways:

The questionnaire was given to all members of the senior classes in a large number of widely distributed schools. The responses were made on the spur of the moment, thus representing the students' own thinking. The further fact that there were no facetious answers in the entire lot is conclusive evidence of earnestness and sincerity.

Three important questions arise at once, namely: Are high school seniors mature enough to render useful judgments on teachers and teaching? Are they in a position to judge fairly? Would their judgments be the same a few years hence? The second question may be answered at once. They are in a better position than anyone else for they are with us, day in, day out, year in, year out. They see us at our best, and at our worst. They are, therefore, in a position to judge. The answer to the other two questions we may leave for the present.

I shall first read representative responses characterizing Teacher A—the best-liked teacher. I shall then report the result of a tabulation of several thousand of these responses in which the students' reasons for liking Teacher A best are

arranged in the order of their frequency of mention. Similarly, I shall proceed with the reports of Teacher Z and Teacher H. Before I begin reading, I should like to suggest that, as I read, you listen for the key words that stand out most prominently in the minds of our students as reasons for their liking us or not liking us, as the case may be. Those who have struggled and despaired in their efforts to teach English composition in our schools may be interested to note, along the way, whether or not our young people can express themselves when given a topic in which they are interested. You may also be interested in observing whether or not our young people have the ability to analyse our behaviour critically.

Before I begin reading let me pause for a moment to report the answer to question 3 on the information blank. Eighty per cent of the students reported that the teacher they liked best was also their best teacher, that is, the one who taught them most effectively, while only a half of one per cent stated that the teacher whom they liked least of all taught them most effectively, thus leaving about twenty per cent of the students who singled out a third teacher as the one they considered a better teacher than either A or Z.

TEACHER A

1. Teacher A is very understanding. 'A' sees your point of view as well as his and 'A' sees it through your own eyes. If anything came up in your school life that you needed to confide in some one, you could go to this person with it. He is not only interested in what he is teaching but in other subjects. You feel as though he is your real friend and will stand by you.

2. My teacher A was never too busy when you came to her with your problems. She was always sympathetic and willing to help. She seemed to know just what you wanted without a great deal of explanations. You never had to think over what you wanted to say to her before going to her

because when you got there, everything seemed to say itself. Teacher A was always neat appearing too. Some teachers have a friendly air about them and this one did. She seemed to be a second mother with that companionship feeling.

3. The teacher I liked best was a teacher who had no exalted opinion of himself. He maintained a good discipline without 'riding' the students. He had no pets, favourites or exceptions. He did not place himself on a pedestal and lecture to the students like a saint peeking out through a crack in the pearly gates. He knew his subject well and taught it well. He held the respect of all who encountered him, in school or out.

4. I like this teacher best because as far as I can remember she has been the only teacher that has really and truly taught me something. The reason that I think I liked her best was because she had a system or one might say, an outline that a student could follow and do and understand easily. When she gave us homework, she expected us to do it and she wouldn't take any excuses whatsoever. She explained things very clearly and if one didn't understand the thing, he would ask her, and she would explain it again. She had a different system of giving tests which helped me to learn all the more, besides trying out what I had learned or studied.

5. Always knew his lessons and didn't have to hold a book up in front of his face all the time we were reciting.

6. This teacher was 'one of us.' He wasn't afraid of stopping in the middle of a class discussion to discuss something of equal importance in current events or science. He was not on a plane above us—handing down knowledge he knew himself—but was on the same plane we were on and was discussing problems—discussing the lesson—and seeming to learn things with us and enjoy helping us learn. He didn't resent having pupils ask questions nor having to explain any problem. He was always willing to repeat it once more for the benefit of some slower pupil, also let it be said that I learned as much from him as from anyone else because I enjoyed being in the class.

7. She is one who understands and who sympathizes, and yet who unwaveringly brings forth from you your best work.

8. Under Teacher A I learned something worth while. This teacher required that our lessons must be prepared. This teacher demanded order and respect and was given this without difficulty. We had our fun with this teacher but when time for work was there, we worked. Interested and concerned about each pupil.

9. He was intensely interested in his subject but not so much as to become narrow-minded.

10. Teacher A was a pleasant young woman, with a radiant personality. She was always neat and well-dressed and kept her classroom as sunny with her personality as a bright spring morning. She was pleasant-natured, knew how to handle students and was more of a helpful pal to them than a cranky old teacher. She was broadminded, patient and comprehensive. She had an effective way of teaching by using an iron will-power, carrying it out with a friendly smile.

11. She is always ready to give us advice when asked to do so; and if she isn't asked, she minds her own business.

12. He is clever enough to know just when a compliment will help me.

13. Teacher A, a woman, middle-aged, was very strict. She was very considerate and listened to good reasons, but allowed no one to pull anything over on her. She was very just in grading. (I worked hard and got less than an average grade.)

14. Teacher A was young and understood high school students. He was satirical, full of mirth, and possessed one of the quickest and smartest minds of anyone I ever knew. He could teach the hardest lessons to the biggest bunch of dumbbells and make them laugh as they learned. He established contact with his students.

15. She helps us as little as she can when we don't need it but think we do.

16. She never said 'yes' or 'no' without a definite reason, therefore, she was never in the hole.

17. She loved to laugh and wasn't afraid to laugh.

18. She did not resort to sarcasm when she couldn't think of anything else to say.

19. During the past three years I have dealt with many teachers, but none won my favour more than Teacher A. He was always glad to see the students in the morning and always bid them farewell. Teacher A was a teacher that would reason with you and do all he could for you. Yea! even if you did him dirt he would come back to you smiling and willing to help you.

20. I like Teacher A the best as he took us into his confidence and explained the subject thoroughly. I liked him also because besides explaining the work to us he was jolly and was always cracking jokes.

REASONS FOR LIKING 'TEACHER A' BEST, ARRANGED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF MENTION, AS REPORTED BY 3725 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

REASONS FOR LIKING 'TEACHER A' BEST	Frequency of Mention	Rank
Is helpful with school work, explains lessons and assignments clearly and thoroughly, and uses examples in teaching.....	1950	1
Cheerful, happy, good-natured, jolly, has a sense of humor, and can take a joke.....	1429	2
Human, friendly, companionable, 'one of us'.....	1024	3
Interested in and understands pupils.....	937	4
Makes work interesting, creates a desire to work, makes class work a pleasure.....	805	5
Strict, has control of the class, commands respect.....	753	6
Impartial, shows no favouritism, has no 'pets'.....	695	7
Not cross, crabby, grouchy, nagging, or sarcastic.....	613	8
'We learned the subject'.....	538	9
A pleasing personality.....	504	10
Patient, kindly, sympathetic.....	485	11
Fair in marking and grading, fair in giving examinations and tests.....	475	12
Fair and square in dealing with pupils, has good discipline.....	366	13
Requires that work be done properly and promptly, makes you work.....	364	14
Considerate of pupils' feelings in the presence of the class, courteous, makes you feel at ease.....	362	15
Knows the subject and knows how to put it over..	357	16

REASONS FOR LIKING 'TEACHER A' BEST	Frequency of Mention	Rank
Respects pupils' opinions, invites discussion in class	267	17
Not superior, aloof, 'high hat', does not pretend to know everything.....	216	18
Assignments reasonable.....	199	19
Is reasonable, not too strict or 'hard boiled'.....	191	20.5
Helpful with students' personal problems, including matters outside of class work.....	191	20.5
Dresses attractively, appropriately, neatly and in good taste.....	146	22
Young.....	121	23
Work well planned, knows what class is to do.....	110	24
Enthusiastically interested in teaching.....	108	25
Gives students a fair chance to make up work.....	97	26
Homework assignments reasonable.....	96	27
Recognizes individual differences in ability.....	86	28
Frank, 'straight from the shoulder', a straight shooter.....	78	29.5
Personally attractive, good-looking.....	78	29.5
Teaches more than subject.....	74	31
Interested in school activities.....	68	32
Sticks to the subject	53	33
Modern.....	52	34
Sweet and gentle.....	50	35.5
Pleasing voice.....	50	35.5
Intelligent.....	42	37
Prompt and businesslike.....	41	38
Sincere.....	36	39
Knows more than the subject.....	32	40
Has pep.....	31	41
Uses good judgment.....	22	42
Cultured and refined.....	20	43

Now we shall pause for a moment to consider the tabulation of students' reasons for liking a teacher. Teacher A is helpful with school work, explains lessons and assignments clearly and thoroughly and uses examples in teaching. If all of the professional educators in the land were to attempt to formulate a characterization of the foremost essentials in good teaching, I doubt if they would do better than these boys and girls have done. Their second reason for liking Teacher A best is that she is cheerful, happy, good-natured, jolly, has a sense of humour and can take a joke. It is not to be marvelled at that students like cheerful,

happy, good-natured people. We all do. In the third place, their best-liked teacher must be human, friendly, companionable, 'one of us.' The sixth reason, out of 43 listed, is that Teacher A is strict, has control of the class and commands respect. Further down the list, there are some surprises. 'Personally attractive and good-looking' stands thirtieth in a list of 43. A pleasant voice is exceeded by thirty-five other characteristics. In this age of modern youth, I rather expected that 'pep' would stand high, but it ranks forty-second in a list of 43.

I shall now read from the characterization of Teacher Z. It is here that the pupils rise to great heights in their ability to express themselves. One student noted on his blank, 'I have longed for this opportunity all of my life.'

TEACHER Z

1. Teacher Z was overbearing, superior and conceited. He was very brilliant, good-looking and knew it. He was partial to his friends and hard on those who didn't 'rate.' I can speak as one who was rather a bit on the good side, but that did not make me blind to his other nature. I can not really express my distaste for this person. I merely hated and I still hate him.

2. Now we come to 'Z.' I did not like her from the start. Her opening remarks to the class were a galaxy of 'thou shalt nots'—she was an endless record of dull admonishments. A dull teacher can be forgiven, the student can at least sleep unperturbed in her class; but one who vociferously expostulates a diadem of points 'that make up a good student'—irritates and chagrins any intelligence that may be in the room. She taught more and understood human nature less than any teacher I had ever seen. She believed in the antiquated maxim that students 'should be seen and not heard,' which is utterly fallacious!

3. This teacher Z is the one I like least of all because she isn't what you call a teacher. She is a student wrecker.

She has her lessons all bungled up so a person does not know what he is learning. She is hot-tempered. She raves, she isn't sociable with her students and she grades incorrectly.

4. Teacher Z never seems to see the bright side of life. Life to him is just one long dreary study period. If you do not have your homework done, he disgraces you before the whole class. He seems to delight in embarrassing students and he loves to mark failure on a report card.

5. Teacher Z didn't seem to know how to deal with students. She was continually nagging or crabbing at someone for doing some petty little thing. This nagging of hers made the members of the class want to tease her all the more for it, just to see her get angry and yell around like a maniac. She seemed to take no interest in the pupil at all. She was just hired to cram a lot of knowledge into the students' heads without caring whether they understood what it was all about or not.

6. Teacher Z did not have enough patience to teach. He was always giving a fellow the devil. He seemed to think that his orders were law. If a student asked the why of a question, this teacher would usually say, 'Because the books say so.'

7. I did not like this teacher because he was a crabby sort of man, a man who was not easy to get along with, a man who was not willing and did not know how to co-operate and associate with his students. He was afraid to tell a student what was wrong with him. He was just like a snake in a woodpile. He would come out and bite when you weren't looking.

8. Teacher Z was a teacher who thought more of her looks than she did of teaching. She was known to dissipate quite regularly, and therefore was not admired or even liked by any of her classes. Even her easiness when dealing with the class, brought her no admiration. She is no longer a teacher.

9. Teacher Z I liked least because her classes are dull, uninteresting, and she 'blows up' about twice a week and

takes it out on her students. I was a poor student—perhaps that accounts for some of it, but other students disliked her also.

10. Teacher Z was a man who should never have been a teacher. He was one of the best men I have ever known, but he had no control or discipline over any of the students. He gave sufficient assignments, but none of these were ever done. He allowed everyone to make a goat out of him by allowing them to say anything they pleased back to him. He didn't have the commanding personality needed for his work. If it had not been for his teaching, he would have been a man liked by all students.

11. She is always looking for trouble and if no trouble is in sight, she will make trouble. Although I have never been mistreated by said teacher, I cannot like her, she has a sulky, uppish air which seems to say that she feels she is above you; she seldom speaks to anyone outside of class and seldom smiles.

12. I don't like Teacher Z because he doesn't keep his word. I like teachers who do what they say they will. He makes noticeable mistakes and then makes an excuse that he just wanted to show us how easy it is to make a mistake.

13. Teacher Z stood with her eye on you all the time. If you made an unnecessary movement, her eagle eye darted toward you. We might have all been suspicious characters, from the way she watched us. Also she was unnecessarily homely.

14. Teacher Z was too easily persuaded to let us get by without our lessons accurately done. He was too easily influenced. He would give us grades we didn't deserve.

15. I did not like Teacher Z because we had to write all the time and did not get a chance to ask what it was all about.

16. I did not like Teacher Z because he was too easy on the pupils. He would wander off the subject too easily and I felt like I didn't deserve the grade I got.

17. Teacher Z had a superiority complex. She should have been a professor in a University. They might have appreciated her there. She could not understand that I (and others) couldn't grasp, comprehend, or understand things which were as plain as daylight to her. She was a 'dumb bunny' even if she didn't know it—she probably never will.

18. Teacher Z was middle-aged and held a multitude of degrees. He was a very intellectual man, but seemed to lack common sense. He antagonized students and did not get along well with them. He seemed to draw into a shell and say 'come no further.' He did not make contact with his students.

19. Because she was as 'unbending' as a gunbarrel.

20. She is a teacher that is just teaching and not getting any pleasure out of it.

21. Teacher Z I liked least, chiefly because of her sarcasm and bossiness. A student is just as human as anybody else and can stand just so much sarcasm, and 'ragging.' I got in bad from the first with Teacher Z, then she kept nagging at me, 'til I got sore and walked out, which was a dumb trick. I told her I didn't mind her 'riding' me but I wished she wouldn't dig me with her spurs.

22. Teacher Z is a teacher that allows her classroom to run wild. She has no control over the students and they do as they please. The class is in such an uproar that it is impossible to learn what she is trying to put across. This caused many of my grades to be below par.

23. Had a sleepy look in class. Leaned back in a desk chair and read questions out of a book. I think a teacher ought to know his subject well enough to stand up and discuss the subject without looking at the book all the time. Never handed examination papers back so you could never tell how you were getting along in your grades.

24. She lowered herself to argue with the pupils about the assignments.

25. I had Teacher Z for geometry, and the main reason for not liking him is that he scared me so. When I was in his room I was practically petrified. Before class I would know my

theorems perfectly, but as soon as I entered his room all signs of intelligence vanished. He would peer about the room over his glasses and then fairly jump at some one to recite the theorems. After his class, which was in the morning, I was practically worthless the rest of the day. While I had him I was on the verge of a nervous breakdown, until my programme was changed after half of the term elapsed.

REASONS FOR LIKING 'TEACHER Z' LEAST, ARRANGED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF MENTION, AS REPORTED BY 3725 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

REASONS FOR LIKING 'TEACHER Z' LEAST	Frequency of Mention	Rank
Too cross, crabby, grouchy, never smiles, nagging, sarcastic, loses temper, 'flies off the handle'....	1708	1
Not helpful with school work, does not explain lessons and assignments, not clear, work not planned.....	1025	2
Partial, has 'pets' or favoured students, and 'picks on certain pupils'.....	859	3
Superior, aloof, haughty, 'snooty', overbearing, does not know you out of class.....	775	4
Mean, unreasonable, 'hard boiled', intolerant, ill mannered, too strict, makes life miserable....	652	5
Unfair in marking and grading, unfair in tests and examinations.....	614	6
Inconsiderate of pupils' feelings, bawls out pupils in the presence of classmates, pupils are afraid and ill at ease and dread class.....	551	7
Not interested in pupils and does not understand them.....	442	8
Unreasonable assignments and home work.....	350	9
Too loose in discipline, no control of class, does not command respect.....	313	10
Does not stick to the subject, brings in too many irrelevant personal matters, talks too much.....	301	11
'We did not learn what we were supposed to'.....	275	12
Dull, stupid and uninteresting.....	275	13
Too old-fashioned, too old to be teaching.....	224	14
Not 'fair and square' in dealings with pupils.....	203	15
Knows the subject but 'can't put it over'.....	193	16
Does not hold to standards, is careless and slipshod in her work.....	190	17
Too exacting, too hard, gives no chance to make up work.....	183	18
Does not know the subject.....	170	19
Does not respect pupils' judgments or opinions.....	133	20
Too changeable, inconsistent, unreliable.....	122	21

REASONS FOR LIKING 'TEACHER Z' LEAST	Frequency of Mention	Rank
Lazy, not interested in teaching.....	115	22
Not friendly, not companionable.....	98	23
Shows boy or girl favouritism.....	95	24
Dresses unattractively or in bad taste.....	92	25
Weak personality.....	85	26
Insincere.....	75	27
Personally unattractive.....	65	28
Does not recognize individual differences in pupils	64	29
Voice not pleasant.....	63	30

The highest ranking reason for not liking Teacher Z is that she is too cross, crabby, grouchy, never smiles, nagging, sarcastic, loses temper, 'flies off the handle.' The opposite of the qualities therein described ranked second in their reasons for liking Teacher A best and the opposite of the one which ranked first in the case of Teacher A ranks second for Teacher Z, in the negative, 'not helpful with school work, does not explain lessons and assignments, not clear, work not planned.' Further perusals of the tabulated reasons bear out the same quality of judgment expressed in the tabulations for Teacher A.

We will now glance for a moment at characterizations of Teacher H—the teacher regarded by approximately twenty per cent of the total as being a better teacher than either 'A' or 'Z.'

TEACHER H

1. This teacher differed from Teacher A in only one way. She lacked personality; but, unlike Z, she tried to cultivate one. She tried very hard to be as kind as she could and, although it was very difficult, she at least tried.

2. Teacher H was very eccentric. He made a ferocious first impression, but afterwards we just regarded him as a 'machine' to teach us. He had no interest in anyone except to see how much we could absorb of his course. He let us

know he would give us any help we asked for—but would force us to do nothing. He made moderate assignments and no one ever thought of not having their lesson ready.

3. Made us work harder and consequently we learned more. A little more strict. Is not a companion to students. Does not get their point of view quite so well.

4. The teacher who was and is the best one I ever had or hoped to is one who criticizes terribly and compliments when one deserves it, because she is interested and wants to perfect our mental and physical persons. She cares more even than the one I liked best, as to personality, and she is broadminded, is better educated, and is constantly studying.

5. Teacher H was a very good teacher, but not quite up to Teacher A. Miss 'H' appreciated your labour, but she was not a teacher you could go to with your troubles. Miss 'H' would get down to business as soon as you entered the room. She did nothing but teach, teach, teach, and you did nothing but learn, learn, learn.

6. Teacher H was not my friend, but I did not dislike her. She did not use sarcasm in her classes; she had no favourites. She taught her subject efficiently and reasonably. Her manner was straightforward but never confidential. She was an efficient teacher, or, what amounts to the same thing, a good machine.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN 'TEACHER H' AND 'TEACHER A'
ARRANGED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY, AS REPORTED
BY 763 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

'TEACHER H' DIFFERED FROM 'TEACHER A' AS FOLLOWS:	Frequency of Mention	Rank
More exacting standards of work, stricter in marking, 'we learned more'.....	267	1
Better at explaining lessons and assignments, work is better planned.....	155	2
Knows the subject better and can 'put it over' better.....	95	3
Stricter, more rigid discipline.....	85	4
Makes the work more interesting.....	46	5
Is less friendly.....	39	6

'TEACHER H' DIFFERED FROM 'TEACHER A' AS FOLLOWS:	Frequency of Mention	Rank
More serious, more businesslike, keeps closer to the subject, more conscientious.....	38	7
Less understanding of pupils, less interested in pupils	13	8
More sarcastic.....	12	9
Less attractive.....	10	10
More cross and crabby.....	10	11
More aloof.....	6	12

The last characterization is a comprehensive description of Teacher H—the teacher without charm or personality and, at the same time, without the meanness of Teacher Z—an intelligent, informed, capable, mechanical type of individual.

Having listened to the descriptions of 'A,' 'Z' and 'H,' we are now in a position to answer the two questions left at the outset: Are students mature enough to render useful judgments? The answer to this first question seems too obvious and too well-said by the students themselves to require repetition here. Would their standards be different a few years hence? We can only say that we hope not, for they are higher now than the best of us are able to achieve.

The one gratifying thing about the facts revealed in this study is that every one of the reasons that heads the list of reasons for liking Teacher A, and, likewise, every one of the reasons that heads the list for disliking Teacher Z is within our own individual control. We do not have to go back and live our lives over; we do not have to be re-educated; all that we have now to do is to take ourselves in hand and cultivate or discard, as the case may be, the traits and characteristics that stand between us and the admiration and respect of our students.

It probably should be said that no teacher, however good, has all of the traits and characteristics of Teacher A, and no teacher, however mean, has all of the traits and characteristics

of Teacher Z, but, with this vivid picture of ourselves before us, we should be able to single out those traits and characteristics of our attitude and of our teaching that are handicapping or defeating our efforts as teachers. May I express the hope that every teacher present will analyze himself and his teaching in the light of these standards, that the appeal of our students may not be in vain.

CHAPTER XII

AS OTHERS SEE US

DR. I. L. KANDEL (U.S.A.): *Impressions of Education in New Zealand*¹

IT is with some diffidence that I have acceded to the request that I give my impressions of New Zealand from the point of view of education. Such diffidence is due not merely to the fact that any impressions that I may have formed are based on a brief stay of a little over six weeks in this country, but also to the fact that in this short time I have made many friends and one does not like to criticise one's friends, particularly when they will not have a chance to reply.

I have in the course of my professional work visited many parts of the world, but I have rarely visited a country with as much concentrated beauty of scenery as New Zealand possesses or a country where I have found the people as universally hospitable and kindly disposed to the visitor as are the New Zealanders. Nor from the educational point of view have I ever visited a country in which the intellectual standards and interests are as widespread as they are in New Zealand, where those distinctions between educated classes and other classes are so noticeable because of their absence, where differences of speech which mark off the cultured and non-cultured groups

¹ This is the text of a wireless address which has already been printed by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. The Editor is indebted to the Council for permission to reprint it here.

are so very slight. A country which has already been able to achieve so much through education has a long start towards the next stage in her educational progress.

I have also met men and women who in intellectual ability, keenness of insight, and grasp of the problems to be met will compare favourably with the best anywhere in the world. But it happens frequently in the history of educational systems that they can advance up to a certain point and that they then decline into a sort of inertia which fails to maintain even the standards already achieved. New situations arise, new social problems must be met, new theories are evolved, and a system which was created to achieve one goal is more or less impotent to cope with the new demands.

Such seems to me to be the educational position in New Zealand today. The system has been well grounded, literacy is widespread, differences based upon class distinctions have disappeared, equality of educational opportunity is provided and available for every boy or girl, and teachers as a whole are well prepared to transmit to the younger generation an education which was considered sound one or two generations ago. New Zealand cannot, however, rest upon these achievements; educational theories and practices are changing, and New Zealand, despite her geographical isolation, is not isolated from those conditions which, in bringing about a new world, are at the same time forcing educational adaptations to the demands of this new world.

The teachers of New Zealand are as familiar with the changes needed in education as are progressive teachers anywhere else in the world. They know that a teacher's best work cannot be carried on when he must concentrate upon preparation of pupils for examinations. They know that however well-intentioned a teacher may be, he cannot do justice to his pupils in classes of forty, fifty and even over sixty in a room. They know that modern educational theory is demanding greater activity on the part of the pupils themselves, and they also know that such activity is impossible

in classrooms completely filled with desks, limited in scope to a minimum of books with but scanty library facilities, and restricted in the provision of equipment, that variety of modern equipment which stimulates activity. They are aware of the fact that one of the essential forces for moulding character is the corporate spirit of the school, and as they look around at their schools they are impressed with the lack of halls in which pupils can work together as a corporate body.

All these things they know and these are the things that impress a visitor to the schools and a student of the educational system. And at once the visitor is prompted to enquire into the reasons for the existence of such a state of affairs. The immediate answer that strikes the enquirer is that the whole administrative system is designed, no doubt unconsciously, to check freedom and initiative on the part of the teachers and to reduce all to a dead level of uniformity and consequently mediocrity. That a centralised system of administration is inevitable in a young country with a sparse population is obvious, if the foundations of an educational organisation are to be laid. But having laid the foundations it is the function of a central administrative authority to provide those conditions that will release initiative and promote freedom of adaptation to local conditions.

This means, first, that provision must be made for the active participation of the public as a whole, and in their particular localities, in the provision of education for their children; it means, secondly, that those concerned directly in the process of education must be trained and encouraged to be free as they recognise their responsibility to the public and to the environment in which they teach. Conditions in New Zealand are not yet of a kind that makes the attainment of such objectives possible. There is, on the one hand, too great a tendency to look to the central department for direction; there is, on the other hand, a tendency on the part of the central department to employ the methods of a bureaucracy, to perpetuate what is because it has at one time been successful,

to refuse to believe that anything can be learned from the outside, and through paper regulations and mechanical devices and records to militate against the effective operation of free personalities.

Such a system tends to extend itself into the remotest parts of the country—first, by a syllabus uniform in its requirements for all schools; second, by a system of examinations which, although recently abandoned for primary schools, has been in existence long enough to establish a bad tradition of teaching; and third, by a system of inspection directed to following the operations of the syllabus in every classroom of every school. A system such as this deadens the process of education; it destroys the personality of the teachers; it sets up wrong concepts of education in the minds of the public who look for examination results rather than for growth and development of personality in their children, and it nullifies the proclamation of freedom which is professed in the syllabus.

But when to a system of control such as this is added a grading system which demands omniscience and infallibility from the inspectors in estimating the qualities of teachers, the worst features of a lockstep system of education have been reached. I have no desire to say anything about the grading system except this—that a country which has men and women with sufficient ability and genius to produce as intricate a method as is the grading system to inhibit the full flowering of education has genius and ability enough to substitute something in its place that will be just to the teacher, that will take recent advances in education into consideration, and that will measure the efficiency of education, if objective measures are needed or are possible.

But it is not only the teachers who are hampered by the grading systems; it militates also against the effectiveness of the inspectors whose function, because of their wider experience and broader view of educational practices, should be to help the teachers to become better teachers, to disseminate ideas, to encourage a professional spirit and to be leaders.

That professional spirit cannot be produced by fiat, by regulations from above, or by a dread of poor grading. A foundation for it must be laid in the institutions responsible for the preparation of teachers and must be developed throughout the teacher's career by a system which encourages further study. But the foundations cannot be laid in a period of preparation which is divided and torn between professional studies, practical work and observation and concern for advancement towards a degree. The training college must be brought within the purview of the university, must be raised to a professional level as dignified as that of other professions, and must be organised to achieve the purpose for which it is designed without compromise with other purposes.

The primary concern in this matter must be to produce teachers who will be able to put into practice the principles of education which make for the promotion of the growth of personality. To succeed in this, teachers must be free, but that freedom, if the preparation is adequate, will be harnessed to a sense of professional social responsibility.

But it is not enough to prepare teachers to take their place as members of a profession of education; it is not enough to change the form of administration so that it will encourage variety and flexibility within a national framework; it is not enough to change the character of inspectors from that of educational policemen to that of agents of cross-fertilisation. The organisation of education must also be such as to provide that the right pupils receive the right education from the right teachers. In other words education must be adapted to the abilities and capacities of the pupils who receive it. Such adaptation cannot be effectively carried out if the provision of schools is divided by a number of different and in some cases competing authorities—primary education under one body, secondary education under another, and technical schools under a third and so on. Whatever affects the education of children and adolescents (and under proper conditions I am tempted to add adults) must be under the supervision of a

single authority. Only through a unitary and unified administration can the educational needs of pupils be considered adequately. And these educational needs include not merely schools at different levels, but the health of children, the provision of libraries, the promotion of extra-curricular activities, guidance in vocational choice and preparation, and the supervision of the young worker. All these affect deeply the moral and social growth and development of youth as well as their instruction.

It is obvious that an educational organisation which is not itself articulated cannot provide for the integrated education of its youth. It sets up competition and rivalries between schools; it gives rise to that fatal distinction between the academic and the practical, between the cultural and the vocational, and in the last resort stands as an obstacle to the proper adaptation of education to both social and individual needs.

The unification of administration does not, however, mean concentration of authority in the hands of one body, it does not involve the abolition of school committees or boards of governors whose chief function it should be to act as a link between the public and parents on one side and the authority on the other. For an educational system in a democracy cannot flourish if concern for it is removed from the public. Indeed, it might be said that one of the chief functions of an administrative body is to educate its public, to train it to an understanding of the meaning of educational changes and adaptation. But to be effective such an administrative body must have an educational officer who will understand the educational needs of his area, who will prepare the public mind, and who will prompt his administrative authority and the public to take the initiative in the advancement and support of education without waiting for directions from a central authority.

At no point is education of the public mind so much needed as on the matter of examinations and particularly the

matriculation examination. One of the crucial problems besetting the world everywhere is that of secondary education. Its reorganisation and adaptation to modern times and the varied needs of the increased enrolments founder upon the rock of matriculation. Parents and employers will be satisfied with and prefer an indifferent education in an indifferent school and indifferent success in the matriculation to a good education which does not lead to this imaginary hall-mark of intelligence. Secondary education was developed for the few and for a minority planning to continue to a university—an education intended for the few, even assuming that it is sound, is not the best education for the large majority now continuing their post-primary education.

Nor is it safe to talk about differentiation of education in the sense that the sheep should be separated from the goats, the academic from the practical, the cultural from the vocational. All are entitled as future citizens to a broad general education as long as they are capable of profiting by it. Differentiation should be thought of in terms, not of content, but of methods of reaching the individual in terms of his abilities and aptitudes.

The test of ability to pursue university studies should in the main be the concern of the university which may itself decide whether it will adopt a system of examinations or some other method. But the university has other problems—it must decide whether its main concern should be as it is at present to make higher education accessible to those who ask for it on their own terms and in their own time or whether it does not have a duty also to build up a corps of full-time students in the interests of the advancement of scholarship and research. But such an end cannot be achieved unless the country provides opportunities for the employment of trained men.

Such are some of the impressions that a student of the educational system of New Zealand forms of its problems. If they sound like repetitions of what New Zealanders have themselves been saying, this is simply a confirmation of the

statement made earlier that New Zealand is not lacking in men and women of ability, intelligence and insight. What is lacking is the adoption of a system of administration whose major concern will not be the manufacture of red tape but the release and direction of this insight, intelligence and ability into the right channel.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *A Scotsman Looks at New Zealand Schools*

At the outset I should like to make two requests of you. The first is that until you have heard what I have to say, you suspend your judgment, and don't think too much about the fact that I have been only about three weeks in New Zealand. When you call a doctor to your bedside and he sums up your case in a brief space of time you have to remember that behind his judgment is a lifetime's experience. He has come across cases like yours before, and it is possible that he may even be bothered with your complaint himself. In any case he has a good deal of knowledge and skill of his own kind for dealing with just such a situation as yours. That, I think, is the extenuating circumstance I would plead in coming before you to discuss and even to criticize New Zealand schools.

I was much entertained by a statement made by one of the professors of the University College at Auckland—something to this effect: 'Some of the visitors from England'—he didn't know any better than that—'apparently derived their first notions of New Zealand from a study of the posters depicting bush scenery and Maoris in war paint, by which this country is advertised at Home, and concluded that we were just emerging from a state of savagery.' I want to tell you that I did see the posters, and they were eloquent enough

to bring even a Scotsman to New Zealand, but my qualifications for speaking about New Zealand education extend beyond the knowledge I derived from them. I have wandered over the world a little, and had an opportunity of seeing education at work under many conditions. Furthermore I am a Scotsman, and the basic problems facing Scotland and New Zealand are the same. With all the differences between the two national systems there is so much common ground that we can help each other to a fuller understanding of the big essential principles in education and even, it may be, of some of their practical applications. That is the first point. Forget the three weeks and let us think on the basis of a common understanding. I am going, at the end, to prescribe as a cure for your trouble a drop of Scotch!

The second request is that you should be quite clear that where I have to criticize, all my criticisms are directed against your system and not against any persons. I want to say, as the novelists do at the beginning of their books, that the characters in this story are all purely imaginary. But, remembering what H. G. Wells once said about a bad habit of his own—that he never met bishops or teachers without wanting to say something nasty—I will confess that I do not like inspectors. Perhaps if I were quite impartial I might have to add that I don't like teachers, but being one myself I am rather inclined to charity in their case. At all events, it is not the inspector I am concerned about, or the teacher, or anybody else. It is the system in which they live and move and have their being.

My first approach to New Zealand schools was made twelve thousand miles away. I did not first start to think about New Zealand and its schools when the *Rangitiki* dumped us here in Wellington. When I knew I was coming to New Zealand, I set to work to find out as much as I could about your education. I must confess that the Year Books were not very illuminating. I was left wondering, after my perusal of them, whether any country could have such a muddled system of education as New Zealand appeared to have. At first

I was inclined to be rather hard on myself, to blame my own failure to understand, and I suspended judgment until I could look into the facts. I have to report that, having looked into the facts, I have come to the conclusion that the half was never told, and that New Zealand education is a muddle. You may be interested to know that I was distinctly intrigued by your famous or infamous grading system. I did not start with a prejudice against it, although I doubted the wisdom of trying to label human beings with a number. At the same time the grading system was something new and when you are a collector of information about educational systems you always rejoice in anything that is different from what you get elsewhere. I will add that New Zealand is a most interesting country, not merely for its old anomalies, but also for its new inventions, even in the sphere of education. The people of this wonderful country of yours have a special genius for social invention—for evolving devices to meet special situations—and whatever may be said about the grading device, it must be admitted that you have made a most interesting attempt to solve some very serious problems which are not confined merely to new systems but are met with everywhere. Therefore, as I say, I was intrigued. I wanted to know more about this numbering process which enabled the wise men to sort out the teachers into their proper places.

The next stage in my education came during my journey to New Zealand when for five weeks I had little to do except to think. All the time I was wondering what kind of people these New Zealanders would turn out to be—you cannot understand any education system apart from a knowledge of the people out of whose life it has grown and whose life it will affect. I had seen too much of the world to come here imagining that you were Scotch, or English, or Irish. I came expecting to find, as I have found, that you are a people with your own special ways of thought and feeling and action, and I set out to discover just what your characteristics were; I wanted to see how far this new land of yours and the kind

of education you get here, had shaped your minds and characters. There are some people who don't believe very much in the existence of national types: they tell you that you have just to look around and you will see how different the people of the same nationality are. While admitting that you have to be careful not to generalize rashly, I do not accept that view at all. Take a simple case. Here in New Zealand you have your own kind of speech. It is different from the speech across the Tasman Sea, still more different from the speech across the Pacific, different even from the speech across the Atlantic. You have your own kind of speech that somehow or other has come into existence under New Zealand conditions. May I tell you my first impression of it? On the whole it is nice, clear speech, but a bit flat. That, perhaps, is not a very diplomatic way of beginning to sum up your national characteristics, because I hit upon another piece of evidence that leads to a highly flattering conclusion. At Panama we received a batch of New Zealand newspapers, and I began to wonder what kind of people read them. I must say that your newspapers give you a good character. They have a broad outlook and are well-informed on foreign affairs. I have discovered also that your newspapers have a wide circulation; indeed I doubt if there is any other country in the world where there are so many daily newspapers, especially in the small towns. I don't want to flatter you, but I must say that I suspect that if your collective intelligence were tested you would rank high. I would have to wonder, perhaps, whether you have made the proper use of it, but at any rate you have the goods. Having studied your newspapers, I looked around at New Zealand women. I think that on the whole you see a people better in its women than in its men, and the New Zealand women among my shipboard acquaintances struck me as a very pleasant people, with quiet eyes and quiet minds. I passed on that generalization to a Canadian lady friend of mine. She said, 'They're very pleasant, but dull.'

Then I discovered that all the nice things that can be said about you ended with a 'but.' You are intelligent—but not intellectual; you are friendly—but inclined to be narrow and clique-ish. I even heard the same judgment passed when I reached land and began to talk about New Zealand with New Zealand people. One man to whom I mentioned my pleasing discovery about the excellence of your newspapers said, 'Our newspapers are competent, but undistinguished.' I don't think I am wrong in saying that these 'buts' all suggest a falling short. I do think that you are a fine body of folk, but—it seems to me that you have not risen to the height of your opportunities. In this splendid and wonderful land of yours, free from the contamination of older civilisations, you have had a great chance to do something big. Here is another generalisation for your stimulus: all the big things in the world have been done by small peoples. Think of Palestine and Greece and the cities of Italy, of Switzerland and Scotland, and then consider whether this little group of islands should not be turning out geniuses. I have been looking for them but I haven't found them yet. I have been looking for the spirit that is more important than the actual manifestation of genius—the spirit of spaciousness and bold enterprise, and it is not here. There is some falling short of the great possibilities that lie both in your island situation and your own fine intelligence.

What is the reason? Some people would blame the climate, and climate, I am sure, accounts for some of your characteristics. Some people may even blame the schools and wonder whether you have been flattened out by the education you have received. I do not venture to pronounce a final judgment on that particular question, but simply ask you to keep the possibility in mind. Theoretically, I would be very glad to think it is your education which has been at fault because that would give added force to the argument that what you need is the new education to stir you into a new consciousness of life and bring forth your creativeness. I am

not thinking of New Zealanders as special sinners above all mankind. Everywhere there are checks and inhibitions so that peoples do not do justice to their powers. But I am wondering whether with your opportunities a different kind of education—an education which stimulated you to express yourself in your own way without thinking too much about what is happening in Great Britain—would not bring out some of the great possibilities that I am sure lie latent in your lives.

When I arrived in New Zealand I asked to be allowed to look at the schools, to see as many kinds of schools as possible in the time at my disposal. I was sent to about a dozen altogether between Wellington and Auckland, guaranteed to represent the main varieties of your educational endeavour. I improved on the original list by dropping into one or two without warning. I am not suggesting that the goods were all put in the shop window. They were not—the teachers who received me seemed to be doing their best to show me things in the ordinary way of school business. I am not going to generalise about New Zealand education on the strength of a dozen schools, but I shall give you one or two impressions. On the whole my views about New Zealanders were confirmed. The teaching, generally speaking, was competent. I had been told by one or two people that the secondary schools were not up to the mark on the professional side, but I have to say that all the classes I saw in the secondary schools were doing solid work. There was competent teaching, but it was undistinguished. Then, what was more important, I had a look at the children and, except in one school where they looked far whiter than children ought to look, they left a very pleasing impression. I have heard discussions since I have been here about your big classes. I cannot say anything bad enough about big classes, and you have far too many of them. But, speaking as a practical teacher, I would rather teach fifty New Zealand children than forty Scots any day. I would say that judged by our standards the children are, on the whole, too well-behaved.

Then I proceeded to get my mind clear about the sort of work that was done in the schools. You don't judge that by the actual performance of the teacher under show conditions. I had a good look at the blackboards: the writing of the teachers was horribly good—it was the writing of people who were always thinking of the taskmaster. The examples of spelling and counting and grammar told the same tale. It was the tale of an educational system obsessed with the petty, empty things of education rather than its essence. In some schools the walls were decorated with work done by the children and I guessed that it was goods put in the shop window for the inspector. One of the teachers told me that some of the inspectors like this sort of thing but all I can say is that they must be a funny lot if they do. Let me say again, however, that I am not generalizing about New Zealand schools from having seen a dozen.

In addition to visiting schools I have talked about education with all sorts and conditions of people, with teachers of all kinds, with inspectors, with administrators, and with laymen. If I were to set forth all the thoughts that have arisen in my mind during my visit it would require a course of lectures, so if I summarize the course you will understand that I shall be sketchy, and that some things which require qualification will have to do without it, and that some things that might be illustrated, and improved, by the illustration, will remain un-illustrated. I want simply to give you an idea of the features which most impressed or depressed me about New Zealand education, and I shall begin by saying that one reflection which came to me was that the Scotsmen in New Zealand had fallen down on their job. A Scotsman does not like to see things untidy, he does not like a system in which there are unrelated odds and ends. He likes to put things in businesslike shape, and that is why we Scots provide Prime Ministers for Great Britain—we are the folk who put Great Britain in order! I discovered, however, that the serpent in the garden is the English influence in New Zealand education

which has demoralised your institutions. I don't want to boast too much about what the Scotsman can do, but I suggest that if you had got on to good Scotch lines twenty, thirty, or forty years ago, there would be no need now for a New Education Fellowship Conference. What happened was that you let yourselves in for the English separation between primary and secondary education. Your high schools, rather of the English sort, were meant for an aristocracy, a selected group, and the old primary schools for the common or ordinary people. That is the English principle as opposed to the Scotch practice of having a primary system which grows into a secondary system and forms a satisfactory unity. So I make mental apology to the many Scots who have been contributing to New Zealand education. They have done their best under difficulties. Having said that, I want to say something more definite about the limitations of your educational system.

I will begin by suggesting that the biggest limitation of all is the lack of proper educational interest on the part of the community. That is the most disappointing feature: here you are, the descendants of people whose civilization has been based on education and a good many of you have no great faith in it. I cannot imagine the kind of thing that has been happening in our country for hundreds of years happening here. Your boys and girls do not go to the university to get the best education they can; they go there as half-timers, without any appreciation of the value of education, with the object of learning sufficient to earn good money. The same thing applies even to your training college students—you have to give them big allowances to get them into the teaching profession. These are signs that New Zealand has still to learn that the greatest thing in the life of any people is education, not merely because of its value to the individual, but because it is the means whereby a nation can be exalted and enlightened. What you are going to do about the situation I don't know. I am hoping that this Conference may work a bit of the magic, not because of anything that we preachers

of the new education may have said, but because some of you have been stirred up to realise what can be done if you get a creative education that re-shapes human life.

The next and most specific and definite criticism I have to make concerns the over-centralisation of education, especially at the primary stage. I may say at once that I realise that New Zealand is very different from an old-established country with a dense population and an industrial outlook, and I do not suggest that our particular way is your way. With much of your population scattered over large areas and with agricultural interests predominating, you have a new problem to face and one of the ways of facing it is by creating a strongly centralised system of education. There is no doubt whatever that some centralisation is essential in a country like this: you have to accept the determination of your educational destinies by a central department. For that matter, I think we all agree that in both old and new countries there is a permanent necessity for some sort of centralising of education. However well the localities, districts and towns may look after their educational needs, there must be some co-ordinating body—some brain trust, some group of people whose function it is to think out the educational policy for the whole country—which is able to guarantee to the Treasury and the Government that the money spent on education is being well spent, which is able to establish general standards and see that they are maintained. That, in some form or another, is a necessity of a national system of education at any stage. But, generally speaking, the centralising body should let go some of its grip as education advances. The more highly teachers are trained the less need there is for constant supervision from above. In many other countries that diminution of the central control is coming as a matter of course.

In Scotland, for example, the inspector is almost out of the schools. Frequently he spends only six weeks or two months on the ordinary work of inspection, and many schools receive

a thorough inspection only once in three years. You will understand that the Scottish teacher has a good education—far better than the New Zealand teacher has—and that he has a training that is at least as good. The inspectors have learned, and everybody else has learned, that the teachers can be left to themselves. That indicates what I think is a very proper development. You want policemen when you have a mob about you, but when most people are good orderly citizens you can reduce your police force. The inspector of old times was an educational policeman and probably had a job to do, but the better people learn to manage their own business the less need there is for someone outside to see that they behave themselves. In your country that process of reducing supervision has been arrested by your grading system. The grading system is at the very heart of all the evils of your primary school system. Once again I want to be fair, and to recognise that grading is a very valuable administrative device. It meets two problems which in our country are met very badly—two very difficult problems. The first is that of ensuring that appointments and promotions will be given without fear or favour, without any interference from interests other than educational, that so far as possible a man will get his job because he is the best man for the job. That is the aim and intention of the system and it is a very important aim and intention. The other point in its favour is that it keeps the service open to all the teachers of New Zealand. In Scotland, I regret to say, every county is to all intents and purposes a closed area. The boys and girls go to the university and the training colleges and then come back into the service of the county that subsidised them, and there they remain until they are married or die—a very evil system from which your grading saves you. Having said that, I have said my last good word for the system.

I say as forcibly as I can that until you get rid of the grading system the teaching profession in New Zealand will not be a decent profession and the schools will be subject to

all the reactionary forces that make for tameness and mediocrity. In other words, you will be intelligent but dull. Dullness is the outcome of that sort of a system. I do not know that I require to argue that point—I found very general agreement about the evils of grading and the effect of grading on both teachers and inspectors. I believe the inspectors suffer just as much from the system as anyone else, that they are just as much its slaves as the teachers, and that, whether they know it or not, the abolition of grading would be the best thing which could happen to them. They would then be free to go into the schools and inspire the teachers to do better work. But here I am concerned mainly with the teachers, because I have a theory that the man who stands before the class is immensely more important than the man at the office desk or the man who goes into the school to examine, and I deplore the demoralising influence of the system on the ordinary member of the teaching profession. The teachers that I have met have been dominated by the thought of grading marks, and that produces, as you know, a good many unfortunate results. It produces a state of restlessness on the part of teachers. One man I met yesterday told me he had held no fewer than fifteen different jobs—a teacher is no sooner in one job than he looks up the *Gazette* to find a better one. You cannot work under such conditions. You cannot do your job properly if you are always thinking of your salary. Of course, you have to earn a living, but if you are always thinking about the wage and the position the job inevitably suffers, and teaching, of all jobs, calls for the whole-hearted devotion of those engaged in it. And whole-hearted devotion is often spoilt by thoughts of promotion. Apart from that, there is the curse of servility—you have to behave nicely to be sure of your grading, to venture an experiment is a risky proceeding. That is the inevitable result. I am not talking about bad inspectors—whether the inspector is good or bad, the teacher, under such a system, is tempted to become a toady in the search of promotion. The system is antagonistic to the

whole spirit of good education. You know it is an evil thing. The trouble is you are not prepared to face up to the logical conclusion. This evil has to go, but it will go only when you want it to go. The Minister of Education cannot do away with the system if you still want it. It is up to the teachers to demand an end of it, and I am sure they would meet with a ready response from the powers that be.

The difficulty, however, is to find a system that meets all the needs, the positive, practical, administrative needs, that grading satisfied. I have no patience with people destructively critical, who say, 'Away with examinations,' and forget that there must be some alternative. I have no more use for examinations than for grading, for much the same reasons, but in both cases I am prepared to suggest something to put in their place. Again I have to be as humble as a Scot can be. I am going to tell you how the thing is to be done. The first suggestion I make is that the system should be decentralized by giving real powers and responsibilities to district education boards—how big or how small the boards should be I cannot tell because I don't know your circumstances. But somehow or other you must get localisation of educational control. That measure, I am sure, is one which would bring about many beneficial changes in your system. It would help to solve the problem of co-ordination, to which I will proceed next, and it would enable you to get a satisfactory system of appointments and promotions, and, above all, a better system of supervision than inspection can ever give.

I want to put the matter in terms of Scottish experience. In 1918, following on the wave of idealism that had been created by the War, we in Scotland got a great Education Act—an Act full of tremendous possibilities for the future of our people. The basis of that Act was the extension of local control from the old parishes to the county authorities. I am not saying that you should have county authorities. I am mentioning them because they represent a kind of local authority that has proved very valuable in our case and that

might prove valuable in yours. Here is one of the unexpected outcomes. For these new county authorities there had to be directors of education, and so we have in Scotland a new kind of educational supervisor, with functions differing from those of the traditional inspector. The director, under the county system, directs: his job is not to watch the teachers, although he has to know about them, and to understand the problems of the different districts in his area. One of the results has been that since 1918 some of the most progressive measures in education have come from the directors. These directors are very canny Scots, but with all their care and caution they have the experimenting spirit—they try out new plans and think out new policies in a way our inspectors never did. We have had more new ideas from this group of people during the last eighteen years than we have ever got from our inspectors, and to say that is not to disparage the inspectors, because I believe they have an important contribution to make if they are set free from the petty business of pottering about schools. That is point one—a local body of some kind suitable to your conditions.

The next point is that you want a new system of appointments. Automatic appointment by number on the graded list is very simple once you get the numbers fixed, but it is very complex until you do. You must get rid of that system so that you can use the man- and woman-power of the schools to the best advantage. And here I come to one of the cruxes of the situation. It is important that the right people should be appointed and that no wrong influences should be used in the appointment, that a person should never be appointed because he goes or does not go to church, or because he belongs to one party and not to another. Well, how are you going to ensure that? I want to be rather sketchy in this part of the programme. What occurs to me is that you have two sets of appointments to consider. First, the appointment of the younger teachers is, I suggest, a proper function of your local boards—a job they can do well, where there is no great harm

done if they appoint local people. Then for the major posts you want to draw on the talent of the whole teaching force of New Zealand. Such appointments could be made by some thoroughly representative body acceptable to the boards, the understanding being that for every job applications would be received from any part of New Zealand and considered on their merits. That is point two.

The third point is that it is essential to institute a salary scale without any grading and without any bars. Again, I can tell you how we do it, and I don't see why the system we have employed should not be satisfactory for you. The first appointments are usually made from local people, who enter on a salary scale and go forward step by step. In cases of obvious incompetence increments are withheld, but this is highly exceptional as there are two years of testing time. We don't save money, by the way, on the new teacher—that is rather a mean feature of your educational system. Your probationary teacher is a cheap teacher. Our teachers start on their salaries at once and go up by steps until they have reached the maximum for assistant teachers. What is beyond that as an incentive to good work? Well, there are the infant mistresses' jobs, and second masters' jobs. (The head-master has an understudy, called the second master.) Then in the secondary schools we have special jobs in all the different secondary subjects. There is the classical principal teacher, the mathematics principal teacher, and so on, and with these appointments go payments for responsibility. If you are doing a special job you are entitled to special payment over and above the ordinary scale. So your promotion goes on by an ordered system which depends entirely on how you commend yourself to your fellows and the board and the people who understand what you are doing. It is very simple and has the merit of being free from this wondering and bothering about what the inspector will say about your performance.

The last point is that whatever inspection is necessary should be done better than at present. In the first place, there is too much inspection. Even if it is a good thing, it becomes bad by excess. So I say you must cut it down as much as you can. If you need a guarantee to the public that the money devoted to education is well spent, it can be got in other and better ways. There is a second point: you want a new kind of inspector. Here I am touching on a problem that is even wider than that of inspection. It is one of the scandals of your education system that men of special capacity have to go abroad to find an outlet for their talents: we hear again and again of capable men who go to America or Britain for special study and cannot return here because there are no suitable positions for them. If they wish to return to the teaching service they find that they have lost their place on the graded list. I suggest these are the people you want for your inspectors. Keep your own talent for your own schools.

By a happy accident, our inspectorial system in Scotland has used that kind of ability. One of the rules of the superannuation scheme for the civil service is that the officer must begin his duties before he is 35, and hence our inspectors are appointed before they reach that age. The result is that we have appointed exceptional young men of academic distinction, who have been in the schools for a few years and shown competence in school work. That kind of person, I suggest, makes an excellent inspector, partly because he does not know too much. Your inspector has been a very excellent teacher of the nice, orthodox type, the kind of person who has commended himself to his superiors because he has never deviated from the straight and narrow path of orthodoxy. In other words, with all due respect to the fine men in the inspectorate, they are nice, tame people—the kind of people who don't set the Thames on fire, the kind of people who will not think new, bold thoughts suited for new, bold times. Catch your inspectors young. Don't let them have too much of the routine of

teaching to dull their minds and spirits. Then you will get them thinking and you will get your best folk in the service of their own native land.

The next criticism of your system is directed against its grievous lack of co-ordination. I have already indicated the root of that evil: you have followed the bad English model. The result is that you have your primary school system and alongside it a jumbled mix-up in the secondary school system. The two systems are so distinct that you have a separate inspectorate for each. An inspector in Scotland may spend one day examining the higher classes in a secondary school and the next in an infant school; he may pass from primary to secondary schools and vice versa. We have a system which is all of one piece whereas you have two separate systems.

Let us consider your secondary school system. Your high schools are of the academic type and are orientated towards the university, though I doubt whether many of their pupils go to a university college. The children learn French and Latin which they soon forget; they learn an abstract kind of mathematics which has not much to do with the ordinary life of the people, and they also forget that. In fact they spend a great deal of time learning things only to forget them afterwards. But if the high schools are too theoretical in their outlook, the technical schools are too practical. The time comes soon enough when boys and girls must adjust themselves to the demands of practical life and the longer they can pursue a genuinely cultural education the better for their whole future. And then you add to your mix-up your district high schools, which by the way, are the best kind of post-primary schools you have. It is on just such schools as these that our secondary school system in Scotland has been based.

I would like to make one or two suggestions. The first is that you have to start and 're-think' your whole secondary school system. It is an incompetent muddle. Apparently you are prejudiced by that break at 14 years. The rest of the world has discovered that the right age for the break is 12, just prior

to the opening of the adolescent period of life. For these children of 12 and over there should be schools of two main types. The first should be designed for the pupil who has time and academic interest enough to spend five years on a secondary education. A secondary education is not a preparation for the university, though you haven't discovered that yet in New Zealand. It is a preparation for ordinary living, and the secondary school should be the university of the ordinary boy and girl, a place where they will get a wide view of things and something of the inspiration of music and art and literature and the other fine creative things that keep the soul of man alive. That is one side of your job. Schools of the second type should be for those who leave round about the statutory leaving age. The statutory leaving age is 14, and soon, I hope, you will extend it to 15 and then to 16. One jump at a time is sufficient, but it is important that you extend the leaving age to 15 as soon as possible. If pupils entering the secondary school are grounded in the elements of education, and have lively, elastic minds, able to absorb new experience, you can do a very great deal in three years. You can work out courses which are complete in themselves, which take account of individual differences and which, if need be, lead on to the full course. When I am speaking about lack of co-ordination may I say that your university is a most unhappy institution. It is not a good university, not nearly as good as it should be, and it is in wrong relation to the schools. I suggest as a practical reform the scrapping of matriculation—it simply perpetuates the hold of the old dead culture on the schools of today. I think the leaving certificate in any school system should be a national institution, not a university institution, and should be linked up with the whole education system, beginning at the infant room and going on to the university.

One last point, and the most important one. Any educational system depends on its teachers. Get the right teachers and you get the right education. Therefore it is supremely important to get the right teachers. How is that

to be done? Apparently it depends on the appeal of the profession to young people. Now in these days there are not very many opportunities for idealists; we live in a very hard material age. But here is a job waiting for any person who loves his fellow men, who is interested in people and who likes to be with young folk. Then you must pay the teacher a good salary, sufficient to enable him to live free from material worries. I am not asking for very big salaries—salaries that are too big are just about as bad as salaries that are too small—both are demoralising. But I don't think the authorities will make this mistake. As a matter of fact you run no great risk of getting salaries that are too large. All I ask for you is adequate payment. What is the test of adequacy? One test is that the salary should be sufficient to enable the young teacher to marry at 25. Apply that test, and you can then discuss the question of what the maximum should be.

Behind the question of professional status is the matter of the teacher's preparation. Your two-year course is altogether inadequate. It was all very well when teaching was a matter of simple routine, when any person with a kind smile could take up the teaching job. It is not good enough now, when culture is so complex, when the problems that confront human civilisation are becoming increasingly hard and their solution is dependent on the wisdom and judgment of ordinary people. It is not good enough when we have a new science of guidance which will enable us to make boys and girls into finer men and women than you or I or any who have gone before us. There is a great job opening up for the right people with the right education and training. But that training and education cannot be given in two years. I suggest that what you have to demand, both as parents who want the best teachers for your children, and as teachers who want the best opportunities for your successors, is a training as serious and fundamental and

almost as extended as the doctor's. I suggest the institution of a degree in education and a course lasting for, say, four years leading up to it. This would mean that your training colleges would have to be taken out of the hands of the present authorities and brought under the ægis and influence of the university, although they should be left free to develop to the fullest and best extent under proper control. I am looking forward to the time when the New Zealand teacher will hold his head up high beside any professional man. Why should he not? Education is at the very basis of all human society and the people responsible for its conduct should therefore be held in the highest regard by the community.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD (Scotland): *The N.E.F. and the Future of Education in New Zealand*

What is to come out of the extraordinary enthusiasm and interest which has been aroused by the conferences held in the four cities of New Zealand? That is a question which only New Zealand can answer. Certainly a great opportunity offers itself for the re-creation of the national system of education, an opportunity which if missed may not come again for a long time.

To ensure continuity and co-ordination of effort some kind of permanent organisation seems desirable. What form that is to take, what relation it is to have to the many kindred associations already existing—these again are matters for local decision. But it may be suggested that there are many advantages in setting up a New Zealand branch of the New Education Fellowship. Apart from the fact that local sections of the Fellowship enjoy complete autonomy, there is virtue in

the fact that the Fellowship brings together in a common membership the various people interested in education in the country. It is not a teachers' association, nor an administrators' association, nor a parents' association. It includes teachers, administrators, parents and all others interested in young people and their upbringing. It is interested in everything that pertains to the making of mind and character: in schools, in newspapers, in all social influences. There is the further advantage that while national in its government, it is linked up with like-minded bodies over the world, and can put at the service of its members the experiences and inspirations of a great international organisation.

But it may be asked: What does the New Education Fellowship stand for? What is this new education it advocates? Some people as a matter of fact are not very fond of the phrase '*new* education.' There is no special value in newness, they say. What principles underlie the attempt to create a different kind of education?

The answer to that query is partly historical. The new education, as we know it, is the outcome of many converging streams of thought and practice, going back to the writings and experiments of Rousseau and Pestalozzi. But in its present form it is largely the child of the twentieth century. It began with certain progressive schools in England, Germany and America in the nineties of last century. It got stimulus and direction from the work of Dr. Montessori in Italy, and Professor Dewey in the United States at the beginning of the present century. It has focussed a widespread discontent with the regimentation of education in the state schools of all lands, and created a demand for freer methods. Through all the diverse forms of new educational thought runs a common ideal: that of a system of well-ordered freedom in which the mind and spirit of the young can be nurtured into fine personality.

When this is translated into practical terms as far as schooling is concerned, three characteristic features in the scheme of freedom become evident: *first*, that the basis of good education is a right attitude to the child as a person in the making; *second*, that what the child learns must become the stuff of his own life so that the culture of the past is re-created in him up to the level of his capacities; *third*, that the methods of learning in home and school should take account of the child's individuality and lead to creative efforts in the process of learning.

Not all new educators would express their faith in such abstract terms, nor is subscription to any formulary required for membership. The Fellowship is first and foremost a company of practical people. It came into being in 1915 in the middle of the Great War. It has expressed itself in the *New Era* and similar journals in many languages. It has met in international and regional conferences in different countries over the world. It has initiated through its commissions the study of important educational problems of world-wide concern, like those of examinations and teacher-training. Most important of all, perhaps, it has provided a central organisation for all concerned about progress in education throughout the world. Conferences like these in New Zealand and Australia are one of the latest developments of the Fellowship's activities. Their effectiveness will depend on the response that New Zealand and Australia make. Assuredly there is a great work to be done in these lands. Branches of the Fellowship have the chance to work out a scheme of educational reconstruction richer and more progressive than could be achieved in any other way. And in the immediate future, there is an important task awaiting in bringing parents and teachers more happily and more fruitfully together than ever before, in the promotion of child care in all its many aspects.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GREETINGS FROM THE ENGLISH BOARD OF EDUCATION

Mr. G. T. Hankin brought with him the following letter of greeting from the President of the English Board of Education (the Rt. Hon. Lord Stanhope):

'It gives me great pleasure to send my greetings to the conferences which are being held in New Zealand and Australia. I am sure that in bringing together from many parts of the Empire and from other countries those who are interested in education, either as teachers or administrators, the organisers of these conferences are performing a most useful service. Your agenda is a very wide one; nothing less, in fact, than education for complete living. I have no doubt that those attending the conferences will find, notwithstanding the widely different circumstances and conditions of life in the countries which they represent, that they are concerned with the same fundamental educational problems, and that they are interested in the same general principles of educational progress.

'I am glad to know that you have been able to assemble and to take with you an exhibition showing, on however small a scale, the present tendencies of English education. This sharing of experience in relation to our common educational problems seems to me to be perhaps one of the most fruitful forms of intellectual co-operation. It is a kind of international commerce into which no element of competitiveness or jealousy can enter, save competition in the service of the child and jealousy for the welfare of future generations. I wish the conference every possible success.'

APPENDIX II

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

THE HON. P. FRASER, Minister of Education.

PROFESSOR T. A. HUNTER (*Chairman*), Vice-Chancellor of the University of New Zealand.

MR. N. T. LAMBOURNE, Director of Education.

DR. J. W. McILRAITH, Chief Inspector of Primary Schools.

MR. W. A. ARMOUR, representing the Secondary Schools Association.

REV. FATHER J. W. DOWLING, representing Registered Private Schools.

MR. W. V. DYER, representing the Education Boards' Association.

PROFESSOR W. H. GOULD, representing the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

MISS B. JACKSON, representing the Technical School Teachers' Association.

MISS M. E. MAGILL, representing the New Zealand Educational Institute.

MR. R. G. RIDLING, representing the Technical Education Association.

JOINT HON. SECRETARIES:

MR. G. R. ASHBRIDGE, New Zealand Educational Institute.

DR. C. E. BEEBY, New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

MR. F. R. J. DAVIES, New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

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DUNEDIN

Chairman: Mr. A. Hanna. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. W. F. Abel. *Committee:* Professor A. G. Strong, Misses V. Hayward and B. Woodhouse; Professor R. Lawson; Dr. W. J. Boraman; Messrs. W. J. Aldridge, L. B. Bradstock, D. C. Cameron, D. Forsyth, H. P. Kidson, R. G. C. McNab, J. McK. Miller, F. Milner, W. J. Morrell, C. Parr, W. D. Sutherland and N. R. Wilson.

APPENDIX III

EXHIBITIONS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

Mr. G. T. Hankin brought out with him an exhibition which had been specially prepared by the English Board of Education. This consisted of some 250 diagrams and photographs illustrating typical English schools and their work.

Mr. Arthur Lismer demonstrated his methods of art education at a number of schools, and at training colleges and art galleries.

Dr. Paul Dengler showed a small collection of drawings and paintings by Austrian children.

APPENDIX IV

THE NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

The New Education Fellowship was founded by Mrs. Beatrice Ensor and a group of her friends in 1915. From the first it was an international movement intended to unite those who believed that the problems threatening our civilisation were basically problems of human relationships which demanded a new type of education more responsive to the requirements of a changing world. Since then the Fellowship has spread throughout the world and is now the one existing permanent educational organisation of world-wide scope.

It performs three functions of particular value at this present time of international dislocation. First, through its international and regional conferences, its fifty-one national sections and groups and twenty-three magazines in fifteen languages, it acts as a permanent working laboratory in which new developments in educational thought and practice in different lands can be exhibited and discussed throughout the world. Secondly, it maintains friendly personal contacts between educational thinkers and practitioners in different countries and thus contributes notably to the feeling of human solidarity among those engaged in education. And lastly, owing to its national organisations and international outlook and character, it is helping educators to understand the differences in social attitude and custom which characterise different classes and different countries and constitute one of the most fruitful causes of misunderstanding and conflict in the modern world.

The following aims and principles of the Fellowship are in no sense dogmas, that the Fellowship seeks to impose, but rather an indication of the direction in which it is working:

1. Education should seek to produce men and women who are at home in the world as it is and who, while fully aware of its imperfections, are fitted to take an effective part in its daily life. At the same time it should have the deeper aim of

developing ideals and purposes beyond personal advancement and security.

2. Education should accept its special responsibilities in the realisation of the main object of society, that of building a community in which each single member can achieve full and harmonious development through sharing in the common life.

3. Education should develop an understanding of the fundamental unity of mankind irrespective of all differences, and should prepare the way for a world organised on this basis.

4. In setting itself to achieve the objectives defined above, education should start from the child as he is. There should be no arbitrary imposition of rigidly prescribed content or method; curricula and procedure should take shape in terms of the nature and experience of the child.

5. Education should at every stage be concerned with the child as a complete human being and not only with particular aspects or faculties.

6. Education should be based on the belief that each child has a natural eagerness to learn and to perfect his innate capacities. One of the essential functions of education is, therefore, to provide an environment in which this eagerness can find full expression.

7. Education should work for the gradual attainment of the inner discipline of freedom in place of the external discipline of compulsion. It should not only be tolerant towards individual differences, but should adapt its methods so as to utilise these differences in the interests both of the individual and the common good.

8. All educational institutions should give varied opportunities for experience in communal life so as to provide practical training in citizenship and develop the sense of responsibility of members towards one another and towards the various groups that make up the community.

9. The school should not be isolated from the wider world, but should establish contact with all surrounding life and lead its members towards a vital awareness of the mutual responsibilities of human beings throughout the world.

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